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M. TULLI CICERONIS

DE

IMPERIO GNAEI POMPEI

ORATIO AD QUIRITES.

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ORATIO AD QUIRITES,

(PRO LEGE MANILIA).

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

EDITED AFTER

KARL HALM,

BY

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PREFACE.

No speech of Cicero's is better fitted to be the first studied by the young student than that commonly known as the Oration *pro Lege Manilia*, with the possible exception of the speech *pro Archia*. But while the latter has recently been admirably edited by Mr J. S. Reid (*Pitt Press Series*, 1878), the editor of this volume is not aware of any useful and trustworthy English school edition of the former. It appeared therefore worth while, with the kind sanction of Prof. Halm of Munich, to issue an adaptation of his well-known smaller edition for the use of English students. The introduction and notes have been translated from the eighth (improved) German edition (Berlin, 1877). For the analysis and the notes enclosed within square brackets the editor is

responsible. Some of the latter have been derived from the edition of this speech by Richter and Eberhard (Leipzig, 1876).

The only title for this oration known to the ancient grammarians and rhetoricians and found in the best MSS. is *de Imperio Cn. Pompei:* the superscription *pro Lege Manilia* appears only in some inferior MSS., but it has become so familiar, that it may perhaps be retained as an alternative title.

MANCHESTER, *June*, 1879.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. MITHRIDATES[1] VI. EUPATOR, the most dangerous foreign foe with whom Rome had had to deal since the days of Hannibal, was a man of unusual mental[2] and physical[3] powers, a brave soldier and an enterprising general, but heartless and cruel in pursuance of his dynastic aims, as only an Asiatic despot is. Since he had succeeded to the government of his paternal kingdom, he had been restlessly scheming for the extension of his dominion[4]. His first plans had been directed against the barbarous tribes and the Greek

[1]) On Greek inscriptions and coins the form of the name is Μιθραδάτης, which is interpreted to mean 'given by Mithras' [the name of the sun-god among the Persians. Cp. Diodotus, Zenodotus, etc. among the Greeks]. [2]) His power of acquiring foreign languages is well known: he is said to have spoken more than twenty dialects of the tribes under his sway (cp. esp. Gell. XVII. 17); so that he was the Mezzofanti of antiquity. Hence Adelung chose for his well-known polyglot work the title Mithridates. [3]) Appian Mithr. 112, 'he was of tall stature...and so robust that to the end of his life he rode and shot, and travelled a thousand furlongs a day, on relays of horses.' Sall. Hist. frag. v. 4, *peractis septuaginta annis armatus equum insilire.* Cp. the masterly sketch in Mommsen's History, Vol. III. pp. 275—278. [4]) Frandsen (Gesch. des Mithridates, Altona 1847) assumes from Strabo, XII. 3, 1 that the kingdom of Pontus, when Mithridates succeeded to the throne, extended from the river Porthenius to the town of Trapezus (Trebizonde). Cp. also Mommsen, III. 279.

colonies, which lay around the Black Sea; it was only after he had greatly strengthened his power by long and successful struggles in the North, where he had established a second kingdom[5], that of Bosporus, that he began to embrace Western Asia also in his plans of conquest. Its subjugation was to be the main object of his life. With this purpose in view, he left his kingdom secretly, accompanied by a few faithful followers, travelled *incognito* through all Asia Minor, and made himself acquainted with the situation of all the towns and districts. The most powerful enemies who confronted him here, were the Romans, who after reducing Aristonicus, had made out of the kingdom of Pergamus the *provincia Asia* in B.C. 129. But powerful in the extended empire which he had won by his own exertions, and trusting to his veteran army, he felt a match for the Romans; and he was the more ready to engage in a struggle with them, that he could never forget how the possession of Phrygia Magna, which M'. Aquillius, the conqueror of Aristonicus, had been induced by a large bribe to cede to his father, had been lost to him by the refusal of the senate to confirm the cession[6].

2. The immediate occasion of his being involved with Rome was furnished towards the beginning of the first century B.C., by the disputes which broke out as to the thrones of Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and

[5]) For the details see Mommsen, III. 280 ff. [6]) Appian, I. c. 12. 57. Mommsen, III. 56, 120 note.

Bithynia[7]. To the unjust claims to the kingdom of Cappadocia, advanced by Mithridates and Nicomedes II. of Bithynia, the Roman senate had replied in the first instance by declaring Cappadocia free, and afterwards, as the country desired a king, by appointing Ariobarzanes[8]. On the other hand Nicomedes was to give up also Paphlagonia, which he had also occupied. Mithridates complied with the order with apparent willingness. But soon he succeeded in attaching Tigranes, the king of Great Armenia, to his interests, and in entangling him in the affairs of Western Asia. He gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and induced him, while concealing his own designs, to make war upon the weak Ariobarzanes. This feeble ruler shrank without a struggle from the attack: and thus the country came once more, through Tigranes, into dependence upon the king of Pontus.

3. About this time king Nicomedes died (B.C. 92 or 91[9]): and Mithridates supported Socrates Chrestus[10], the brother of the rightful heir Nicomedes III. Philopator, with an army, by the aid of which the usurper secured possession of the kingdom. The Roman senate re-

7) For details see Justin, XXXVII. 4, XXXVIII. 1—3. It is put shortly in the excerpts from Memnon, c. 30: 'after this arose the war with Mithridates, the king of Pontus, which was so burdensome to the Romans: it derived its apparent origin from the seizure of Cappadocia. For Mithridates having got his nephew Arathus into his power by means of perjury and a deceitful truce, slew him with his own hand, and ruled the land; now Arathus was the son of Arianthus by a sister of Mithridates.' Cp. esp. Mommsen, III. 284 ff.

8) Justin, XXXVIII. 2, 8. Strabo, XIII. 2, 12, p. 540.

9) The year 91 is adopted by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III. p. 418.

10) App. 10. Memnon, 30.

solved to reinstate the banished rulers of Bithynia and Cappadocia: and to this end an embassy was sent to Asia, at the head of which was the consular M'. Aquillius: their demands were to be supported by L. Cassius, the Roman governor of the province of Asia. The military forces which Cassius had already at his command were considerably strengthened by extensive levies in Galatia and Phrygia, and thus the exiled kings were restored to their dominions by force of arms. Not contented with having recovered his throne, Nicomedes, pressed by the demands for money made by the Roman generals, then made an inroad into the territory of Mithridates, pillaging it as far as the town of Amastris, without meeting any enemy. For Mithridates, though in possession of an army ready for action, had intentionally retreated, in order to have many good reasons for a war[11].

4. The cunning king knew well who had really occasioned this raid; but he sent a Greek agent, named Pelopidas, to the Roman envoys, to obtain satisfaction from them. As might have been expected, their answer was one of hesitation and refusal. The king thereupon, regarding the rejection of his claim for satisfaction as an open breach, sent his son Ariarathes with a large army into Cappadocia, to seize the throne. In a short time Ariobarzanes was driven out, and Ariarathes master of the land. Its occupation was the signal for the outbreak of the war with Rome

[11]) App. 11.

(B.C. 88)[12]. When the demand that he should evacuate Cappadocia, was not listened to, Cassius and the Roman envoys, without waiting for any decision of the senate or the people, collected a strong army in Western Asia, which was joined by a considerable contingent from Nicomedes, and took the offensive. The army of the king of Pontus was commanded by two Greek brothers, Archelaus and Neoptolemus. These first turned against Nicomedes, and inflicted upon him a decisive defeat at the river Amnias[13], a tributary of the Halys, near where Pompeiopolis was afterwards founded. A second victory over M'. Aquillius in Bithynia[14] put the whole of Western Asia in their power.

5. Most of the towns willingly opened their gates to Mithridates, and welcomed him with enthusiasm as their liberator from the Roman yoke; but the attacks upon the powerful maritime state of Rhodes, which remained faithful to the Roman alliance, were beaten back by the valour and tactical skill of the veteran warriors of the island[15]. Mithridates marched back to attack the important town of Laodicea in Phrygia, which Q. Oppius held with a garrison, and promised the inhabitants to spare their lives if they surrendered the Roman commander. He was brought before the king, with the lictors marching

[12]) App. 17. Cicero is quite accurate in saying (§ 7): *ab illo tempore annum iam tertium et vicesimum regnat.* [13]) So Strabo, XII. 3, 40: in Appian, c. 18, it is said: *παρὰ τὸν Ἀμνειὸν ποταμόν.* [14]) App. 19. [15]) App. 24—27. Memn. 31. Details in Mommsen, III. 296 f.

before him in mockery; but Mithridates treated him on the whole with leniency; only he led him about everywhere with him to show with pride a captured general of the Romans. He acted very differently, when Aquillius shortly afterwards fell into his hands. Regarding him as the real originator of the war, he dragged him about bound upon an ass, and finally, to glut his avarice, had molten gold poured into his mouth at Pergamum[16].

6. Meanwhile, at the news of the invasion of Asia by Mithridates, the Romans, though fully occupied in their own land by the rising of the Italians, and internal troubles, had resolved upon war against him. The command was entrusted to L. Cornelius Sulla, who for his services in the Marsian war[17], had been almost unanimously chosen consul for the year 88. But the disturbances created by the old C. Marius, and the tribune of the Commons, P. Sulpicius Rufus, detained Sulla in Italy for some time. Meanwhile Mithridates strengthened his army and his fleet, and issued to all his satraps and governors in the towns the terrible order, to fall on a certain day upon all the Romans and Italians of both sexes and of every age, to murder every one, free or enslaved, of Italian descent, and to cast their bodies out unburied[18]. The shocking command was carried out with ruthless cruelty, and on the fatal day 80,000 human beings, or

16) App. 21. 17) Livii Periocha, 75. 18) App. 22, 23.

according to other accounts as many as 150,000 were slaughtered[19].

7. Then Mithridates made himself master also of the islands in the Aegean sea, with the exception of Rhodes, inflicting terrible devastation upon Delos[20], and sent his general, Archelaus, with a large army into Greece, in order to find new points of support in an easily defensible country, and among the readily inflammable Greek tribes, for the great struggle which lay before him. Archelaus had already gained over several towns and districts, and had got possession of the city of Athens, which he intended to make the centre of his operations, by bribing the Epicurean philosopher, Aristion, when Sulla in 87 landed on Greek soil, and after collecting allies and supplies in Aetolia and Thessaly, marched upon Athens. After a most obstinate defence, Athens and the Piraeus fell in 86, and shortly afterwards the bloody battles at Chaeronea and Orchomenus[21], in which more than 100,000 men fell by the Roman swords, made Sulla the master of Greece. Two of the choicest armies of the king had been almost annihilated, and his position

19) Memn. 31. Val. Max. IX. 2, 3. Plut. Sulla, 24.

20) Strabo, x. 5, 4, and esp. Pausanias, III. 22—3: 'at that time Delos was the emporium of Greece, and appeared to give security to those who traded there by reason of the god. But Menophanes, the general of Mithridates, sailing thither with triremes, slew all the strangers dwelling there, as well as the Delians themselves. He carried off much property of the merchants and all the sacred offerings, sold the women and children as slaves, and levelled Delos to the ground.'

21) For the date of these two battles see Mommsen, III. 305 note.

had become almost desperate, when a revolution in the state of affairs at Rome brought him in a moment unexpected assistance in his great difficulties.

8. After the departure of Sulla the Marian party had again got the upper hand in Rome. Sulla was deposed from his command, and the consul of the year 86, L. Valerius Flaccus, was commissioned to carry on the war against Mithridates in his place. But as Flaccus was no general, a skilful and experienced soldier, C. Flavius Fimbria[22], was sent with him as his lieutenant. By his severity and avarice Flaccus made himself so hated by the two legions which composed his army, that a division, sent on in advance into Thessaly, went over into Sulla's camp, and it was only with the help of the more popular Fimbria that he succeeded in keeping the rest of his troops from deserting. When they had crossed over into Asia, the lieutenant, a man capable of any crime—he had served his apprenticeship as a satellite of Marius—made use of the feeling in the army to seize the command for himself, after falling upon and killing the consul in Nicomedia[23]. The Senate winked at the offence, and confirmed the murderer of his own general in his command[24]. Fimbria, having been thus put at the head of the army, inflicted several defeats upon the son of Mithridates, who bore the same name[25], and marched to Pergamum, the capital of the Pontic king since his victory over Aquillius, where he nearly succeeded in getting the king himself into his power[26].

22) For Fimbria see note on pro Rosc. Amer. § 33.
23) App. 52. 24) Memnon, 34. 25) Memn. ib. 26) App. 52.

9. These successes on the part of his new enemy determined Mithridates to enter upon negotiations for peace; to this end he sent Archelaus to Sulla. Sulla was not disinclined to make peace. He was deficient in ships and in supplies of money for the vigorous carrying on of the war. It was also of importance for him with his forces still unimpaired to drive the opposing army, which had made its appearance from Italy, out of the field as soon as possible[27]. However the first negotiations led to no result. Thereupon Sulla marched through Thrace to the Hellespont, where his quaestor, L. Lucullus, joined him with a fleet which had been brought up in the meantime, and helped him in the transport of his troops[28]. Sulla's march and a formidable rising in Asia determined Mithridates to ask for peace once more. This was granted him by Sulla after a personal conference at Dardanus in the Troad in B.C. 84. The king was restricted to his kingdom of Pontus, and required to give up 80 ships of war and to pay 3000[29] talents as a war contribution—more favourable conditions of peace than he would have obtained had the state of political circumstances been otherwise[30].

10. After the conclusion of the treaty Sulla marched against the legions of Fimbria; on their refusal to fight against their fellow-citizens, Fimbria committed suicide, and Sulla united the two armies.

27) App. 54. 28) Plut. Lucull. 4. 29) So Memnon, c. 35, Plutarch, Sulla; c. 22 and 24, mentions 2000 talents, 70 ships ('bronze-clad,' ναῦς χαλκήρεις), and 500 archers. Cp. also App. 55. 30) Plutarch, Sull. 24.

Curio was commissioned to conduct King Nicomedes back to Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia[31]: Sulla himself marched through the province of Asia, to mete out rigorous justice to the towns that had revolted[32]. Whilst his soldiers were thus quartered on the main land, the islands and coasts were pillaged as much as ever, in spite of the nearness of Sulla, by the pirates, who had increased frightfully during the war. He did not however allow himself to be influenced by this unhappy disorder[33], but, as the struggle with his opponents in Italy was nearer to his heart[34], he sailed with the greater part of his army to Greece, and thence to Italy in 83. It was only in 81, after the close of the civil war, that he celebrated a triumph for two days over Mithridates.

11. A second war with the king of Pontus (83—81) was brought on by the following circumstances. Sulla had left behind him his lieutenant L. Licinius Murena, who had honourably distinguished himself in the battle of Chaeronea, with the two legions of Valerius whose fidelity was somewhat doubtful, to set in order any affairs still unsettled in Asia[35]. Murena, who was eager for a triumph and for plunder, sought to provoke Mithridates to a war by various devices; and he found the pretext which he was desiring in the fact that the

[31]) App. 60. [32]) Against the provisions of the treaty of peace, according to Memnon, c. 35: see, however, Mommsen, III. 308 note. [33]) App. 63. [34]) Cicero, § 8: *Sullam in Italiam res publica revocavit.* Florus, I. 40, 11, *et debellatum foret nisi de Mithridate triumphare cito quam vere voluisset.* [35]) App. 64.

king still retained in his possession some portions of Cappadocia. The latter had withdrawn to his own kingdom and reduced to submission the Colchians and Bosporans who were wavering in their allegiance[36]: to this end he had created a new navy and levied such large forces, that it was soon said that such preparations were not directed against the Bosporans, but against a more dangerous enemy, the Romans[37]. However, he did not oppose any armed resistance to the inroads and pillagings of Murena, but sent envoys to Rome to complain of the proceedings of the lieutenant. But as Murena paid no attention even to the orders of the Senate to avoid all hostilities, but on the contrary pushed forward as far as the Halys in a new campaign of plunder, Mithridates gave him a severe defeat[38], and compelled him to retreat into Phrygia. Further hostilities were avoided by the arrival of Aulus Gabinius, who brought to Murena Sulla's commands to abstain from all hostilities against Mithridates and to effect a reconciliation between him and Ariobarzanes. Thus ended the second Mithridatic war. Murena, though he had only carried off undefended booty, and had gained no real victory over the enemy, was allowed the honour of a triumph, which he celebrated in B.C. 80.

36) ἀφισταμένους, App. l. c. 37) Appian says: 'for his campaign against the Bosporans he built ships and collected a large army, so that the magnitude of his preparations quickly excited a suspicion that all this was collected, not against the Bosporans, but against the Romans.'

38) App. 65. Memnon, c. 36, gives a different account, representing the battle between Mithridates and Murena as indecisive, and asserting that both sides retreated.

12. When Mithridates had again secured repose on the side of the Romans, he subjugated the lands on the Cimmerian Bosporus, over which he made one of his sons, Machares, king. A campaign against the Achaeans who lived behind Colchis, was less successful. On his return from this Mithridates sent envoys to Rome, to request from Sulla the written acknowledgment of the peace. But about the same time Ariobarzanes complained at Rome that the king continued to retain some districts of Cappadocia. At Sulla's bidding he at last evacuated the land, but sent a second embassy to Rome, to secure the terms of peace in writing. As this embassy found no support in the Senate after the death of Sulla, which had happened meanwhile, Mithridates prevailed upon his son-in-law Tigranes to undertake a new invasion of Cappadocia. Tigranes surrounded the land as though with a net and swept off 300,000 of the population to Armenia, to provide inhabitants for the capital Tigranocerta (Tigranes' town), which he had himself built[39]. The Romans had no doubts as to the instigator of the deed, but the serious war with Sertorius in Spain did not allow them to act with energy in Asia. Two men of the Marian party, L. Magius and L. Fannius, according to one account deserters from the army of Valerius[40], succeeded in persuading Mithridates to form an alliance with Sertorius. Thus determined upon a new struggle with Rome, he raised troops and secured allies[41] on

39) App. 67. Cp. esp. Mommsen, IV. pp. 47 ff. 40) Pseudo-Ascon. on Verr. I. § 87, p. 183, Bait. 41) The numerous

all sides, and brought his forces up to a total of 140,000 infantry and 16,000 cavalry[42], supported by a powerful fleet.

13. With this vast army, in the year 74, he invaded Bithynia, which king Nicomedes III., who had died shortly before without leaving any children, had bequeathed to the Roman people. The governor of the province, the consul M. Aurelius Cotta, an incapable general, did not feel strong enough to resist the attack, and retreated to Chalcedon. Thither the Romans gathered from all sides. When Mithridates proceeded to march against this town, Cotta tried the fortune of war, but was beaten on land and at sea on the same day[43], and shut up in the town. From this dangerous position he was delivered by his colleague L. Licinius Lucullus, who had received, with the province of Cilicia[44], the supreme command by land in the Pontic war, while the operations by sea were assigned to his fellow-consul. The struggle was concentrated round the town of Cyzicus[45], the siege of

tribes which composed his army are recounted by Appian, 69. It appears from the letter which Sallust (Hist. Frag. IV. 19) represents Mithridates as writing to the Parthian king Arsaces, that he had begged Tigranes to take part in the war, but in vain. [42]) So Appian: according to Memnon, c. 37, Mithridates, after sending off Diophantus with an army into Cappadocia, himself led a force of 150,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 120 scythed chariots. [43]) Mithridates to Arsaces (Sall. u. s.): *M. Cottam Romanum ducem apud Chalcedona terra fudi, mari exui classe pulcherruma.* Memnon, c. 39, states Cotta's loss by sea to have amounted to 8,000 dead and 4,500 prisoners, by land to 5,300 men. [44]) So Plutarch, Lucull. 6: Memnon, c. 37, and Vell. Pat. II. 33, name Asia as his province: but Plutarch gives such precise details, that his account probably deserves more confidence. [45]) Cic.

which is one of the most memorable in history for the heroic resistance of the inhabitants, and the use of the most extensive appliances for attack[46]. By skilful operations Lucullus succeeded in shutting up Mithridates himself while besieging the town. He was cut off from all supplies, and after long and fruitless exertions and enormous losses he was finally compelled by famine and devastating sickness to take to flight.

14. The retreat began by night in the spring of the year 73: the king betook himself by sea to Parium: his army marched by land to Lampsacus, and suffered very severe losses in crossing the river Aesepus, partly by the swollen stream, partly by the sword of Lucullus. The remains of the army, which reached Lampsacus in safety, were embarked there; but Mithridates sent back 10,000 chosen troops in 50 ships, under the three commanders, Varius, whom Sertorius had sent, the Paphlagonian Alexander, and Dionysius the eunuch, while with the greater part of the fleet he sailed to Nicomedia in Bithynia. Meanwhile Lucullus also had assembled a squadron: he seized thirteen ships of the enemy in the harbour of the Achaeans, and then came upon the main force of the three admirals in a barren island near Lemnos[47],

pro Mur. § 33: *cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum moenia constitisset.* 46) The siege is described most fully by Appian, cc. 72—76: cp. Mommsen, IV. 54. 47) This is the description which Appian gives of the place of the battle: and Plutarch Lucull. 12 agrees with his account. It is plain from the agreement of our various authorities as to the date that this is the same battle as that which Cicero mentions in

and entirely annihilated it. The three commanders were caught in a cavern of the island. Dionysius poisoned himself; Alexander was reserved for the triumph; and Varius put to death, because Lucullus did not wish to lead a Roman senator in triumph. At this news Mithridates, who had already suffered from storms at Lampsacus, hastened to reach Pontus, but was overtaken by another tempest in the waters of Heraclea Pontica, and his whole fleet shattered[48]: he himself succeeded in escaping to Sinope on board of a pirate's vessel.

15. Entirely exhausted by these disasters, he sent messengers to his son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia, and his son Machares, the ruler of the kingdom of the Bosporus, to urge them to prompt assistance, pointing out their own danger. Lucullus, however, after reducing the places in Western Asia still held by the enemy, pressed on with his army into Pontus, encouraged by his successes; and after the final obstinate struggle with the king himself at Cabira was decided

§ 21, and in pro Mur. § 33, and pro Arch. § 21, calls the battle of Tenedos, herein agreeing with Memnon, c. 42. According to Orosius, vi. 2, the fleet of Mithridates lost 32 ships of war and a number of ships of burden. Plutarch Lucull. 3 mentions an earlier victory of Lucullus off Tenedos, where he defeated the Pontic admiral Neoptolemus, at the time when he was bringing up to Sulla the fleet with which he was reinforcing him (see above, § 9). According to Cicero, § 21, and pro Mur. § 33 (*cum hostium classis Italiam ope atque animis inflata peteret*), the squadron of the three admirals was destined to sail to Italy, and stir up anew the civil war there.

[48]) App. 77. Mithridates to Arsaces (Sall. frag. u. s.): *ita sine vi hostium regredi conatus in patrium regnum naufragiis apud Parium et Heracleam militum optumos cum classibus amisi.*

in his favour, brought the whole land under his power in the course of the year 72. But it took two full years more before all the towns were captured[49]. At Cabira, we are told, as the baggage was being sent away from the enemy's camp, when flight was determined upon, the king himself was very nearly taken prisoner. Lucullus had indeed, in his desire to cut off the way of escape from the fleeing foe, given strict orders to strike down every one, before proceeding to plunder: but when his men saw the heaps of gold and silver vessels and valuable robes that were flung aside in the crush to get out of the camp, his orders were forgotten, and plundering became general. Some soldiers, who had got up to Mithridates himself, struck the burden of a mule loaded with gold, and as the gold fell out, they let the king escape to Comana while they were scrambling over it. From this place he succeeded in reaching Armenia with 2000 horse[50].

[49]) It is hence gross exaggeration when Cicero § 21 says: *Sinopen atque Amisum ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno aditu adventuque esse captas:* if the truth of history is not to be altogether set at defiance, the words *uno aditu adventuque* here are to be referred only to *permultas*, and not also to *Sinopen atque Amisum:* for both towns, and others besides, such as Eupatoria, Heraclea, and Themiscyra were only taken after an obstinate resistance. For details as to the conquest of the country see Mommsen, IV. 59 ff.

[50]) So according to the account of Appian, c. 82, with whom Plutarch Lucull. 18 on the whole agrees: the latter gives the following sketch of the actual escape of the king: 'the horse which carried the king was already within reach of his pursuers, but as one of the mules which was carrying the gold, either came in between them and the king by accident, or was placed by the order of the king between him and his pursuers, they seized and plundered the gold, and then falling out among themselves missed their prize.' The account of Memnon, c. 44, which is somewhat

16. Lucullus, who had continued the pursuit of the king up to the Armenian frontier, now secured the valuable treasure which Mithridates had stored in various strongholds[51], liberated a number of political prisoners from the state-dungeons, and sent his brother-in-law Appius Claudius into Armenia to Tigranes, to commence negotiations for peace on the basis of the surrender of Mithridates. He himself went during the winter into Western Asia, where he made equitable provisions, to alleviate in some degree the pitiable condition of the province, which had nearly been reduced to despair by the long sufferings from war, the enormous exactions of Sulla, and the burdens of the usurers. While he earned thereby the greatest gratitude from the provincials, on the other hand his humanity excited the hatred of the Roman *equites*, who partly as farmers of the state-dues, partly as exchangers and usurers, were draining the life-blood of the province. Hence even at this time they were endeavouring to bring Lucullus into odium at Rome, and to disseminate the calumny that he was purposely protracting the war from ambition and avarice: but

different, is to the following effect: 'he was desirous of fleeing away from Cabira, where he was staying, without the knowledge of the rest of his subjects; and he would have been captured in his flight by the Galatians who were pursuing him, although they did not recognise the fugitive, had they not fallen in with a mule which was bearing some gold and silver of the treasures of Mithridates, and been delayed by plundering this: so he got off safe himself into Armenia.' These accounts, which agree in ascribing the escape of the king to the plundering of a mule, enable us to interpret aright the statement of Cicero in § 22. [51]) Plut. Luc. 18. Sall. Hist. fr. IV. 5, *tenuit Lucullus thesauros, custodias regias.*

his enemies could not prevent the prolongation of his imperium.

17. When Mithridates took refuge in Armenia, though he found protection and support with his son-in-law, he was not admitted to the court: the personal relation between the two kings was not the best possible, and Tigranes was not disposed by entering into the plans of Mithridates to become embroiled with Rome. A change was effected in this position by the mission of Claudius, which had just the opposite effect to that intended. Tigranes felt his royal pride wounded both by the demand to give up his father-in-law to his enemy, and by the haughty bearing of Claudius[52]. He not only rejected the offers of the Roman embassy, but now gave Mithridates, who had already been for twenty months in his kingdom, but at a distance from the capital[53], the most splendid reception at his court in B.C. 70. Lucullus at once resolved to carry the war into Armenia. Leaving his lieutenant Sornatius with 6000 men behind in Pontus, he started in 69 with only two legions and about 3000 cavalry[54], crossed the Euphrates at Melitene, and marched through the Armenian province Sophene straight upon Tigranocerta. Tigranes despised the small band of advancing Romans, and sent Mithrobarzanes to meet them with 3000 horse and numerous foot soldiers, ordering him to bring back Lucullus alive, and to trample down his little band[55]. The

52) Memnon, c. 46. 53) ib. 55. 54) Plut. Lucull. 24. Appian mentions only 500 horse. 55) Plut. Lucull. 25.

utter rout of this force woke the king from his dreams of pride: but the full proof of the enormous superiority of the Roman tactics was given by the great battle in the plains near Tigranocerta, in which Tigranes with an army twenty times as numerous as the Romans[56], suffered a total defeat with fabulous losses. The prize of this brilliant victory was the fall of the Armenian capital, and an immeasurable booty. Taught by this blow, Tigranes now trusted more to the counsels of Mithridates, who was a skilful commander; but even his experience could not avert the disaster of a second serious defeat on the banks of the Arsanias, which followed in the year 68, when Lucullus was marching upon Artaxata[57].

18. This was the last great victory which Lucullus gained in Asia. His soldiers were weary of their incessant exertions; and in spite of all his entreaties he could not prevail upon them to hold out until the strong fortress of Artaxata had fallen. They were not inclined to serve any longer the ambition of their leader, who did not understand how to attach the soldiers to himself, or humour sufficiently their greed for plunder. At the same time they were afraid that the termination of the campaign in Great Armenia might be only the prelude to a new one against Parthia. Thus Lucullus was compelled to break off his glorious career of victory. He turned in the first

[56]) Plut. Lucull. 28. Memnon, c. 57, evidently understates the number of the enemy's forces in putting them at only 80,000 men. [57]) Plut. Lucull. 31.

instance toward the south, and led his army into the district of Mygdonia in Mesopotamia, conquered its wealthy capital Nisibis, and quartered his soldiers there for the winter. But the discipline of the disorderly army was not improved by their stay in this extremely fruitful and mild region : through the disobedience of the ill-disciplined Valerian cohorts and the intrigues of the notorious P. Clodius, a brother-in-law of Lucullus, and other demagogues in the army, the mutiny broke out into an open conflagration in the camp before Nisibis; and a stop was put to any further enterprises on the part of Lucullus[58].

19. The two kings now, availing themselves of his distance, and the feeling in his army, resumed the offensive[59]. Tigranes returned to Armenia, and brought the lieutenant L. Fannius, who had been stationed there, into great straits: Mithridates was sent into Pontus and the neighbouring countries with 8000 men, half of whom were Armenians. The king received important accessions to his forces in Lesser Armenia, where several Roman detachments were overpowered. The lieutenant M. Fabius Adrianus was beaten in an engagement and only saved from complete annihilation by a wound received by Mithridates. Fabius was then shut up in Cabira and besieged: but he was relieved by the lieutenant C. Triarius, who was bringing up fresh troops to Lucullus from Western

[58]) For the reversal of the good fortune of Lucullus, and the reasons for it, it is well worth while consulting Plutarch, c. 38. [59]) Here and in what follows the narrative of Cassius Dio, xxxv. 8 ff. has been taken as a guide.

Asia; and the king, thinking that the main body of the Romans was advancing, retired before him. Encouraged by this Triarius followed him in his retreat, and defeated him: a second engagement was indecisive; and both sides then took up their winter quarters in strong fortresses. In the next year, B.C. 67, Mithridates endeavoured to entice Triarius out of his strong position at Gaziura to a battle before the arrival of Lucullus: but he held back until Mithridates attacked the fort of Dadas, where was the baggage of the Romans. Triarius was forced by his soldiers to endeavour to relieve the fort; but his attempt brought on a general engagement, in which the Romans were utterly defeated and their camp taken: 7000 men, among them 25 military tribunes and 150 centurions, were slain, and it was only a severe wound of Mithridates which saved the rest of the army.

20. Even Lucullus, who had meanwhile come up from Mesopotamia, could not remedy the state of affairs. Mithridates had taken up a strong position on the heights near Talaura, and avoided a battle, because Tigranes was marching up from Armenia, while in the camp of Lucullus the disobedience grew worse and worse at the news that his successor had been appointed in the person of the consul M. Acilius Glabrio. In this state of affairs he turned for help to his brother-in-law, the proconsul Q. Marcius Rex, who happened to be proceeding at the time with three legions through Lycaonia to his province of Cilicia[60]; but in vain. His

60) Sall. Hist. frag. v. 12.

position in the neighbourhood of Mithridates was no longer tenable; and he therefore marched against the advancing Tigranes, hoping by a successful stroke to bring his mutinous army into a better disposition. But when he reached a point, at which a road diverged to Cappadocia, they all with one accord took this direction: the troops of Fimbria, however, as they had learnt[61] through an edict of Glabrio that they had been dismissed from service at Rome, separated themselves altogether from the rest of the army. Under these circumstances Mithridates reconquered almost the whole of his kingdom, and pressed severely upon Cappadocia, inasmuch as Lucullus did not stir, under the pretext that Glabrio was close at hand, and the latter did not come to the rescue. At first indeed he had marched with all speed, hoping to snatch the victory out of the hands of Lucullus, but when he heard how the case stood, he took no steps to assume the command of the army of Lucullus, but remained idly in his province of Bithynia.

21. This was the state of affairs in Asia, when the tribune of the commons, C. Manilius[62] in the year 66 brought forward the proposal that the conduct of the war against Mithridates should be entrusted with the fullest powers to Gnaeus Pompeius, who after bringing

[61]) Ib. v. 14, *legiones Valerianae comperto lege Gabinia Bithyniam et Pontum consuli datum, sese missos esse.* Livii per. 98: *legiones Valerianae, quae impleta a se stipendia dicentes Lucullum reliquerunt.* [62]) Vell. Pat. II. 33: *cum esset in fine bellum piraticum...Manilius Tribunus pl., semper venalis et alienae minister potentiae, legem tulit ut bellum Mithridaticum per Cn. Pompeium administraretur.*

to a close the war against the pirates, was now with his forces in the south of Asia Minor. The strong opposition which this proposition encountered can be easily understood if we cast a glance at the course of life up to that time of this man, who had been fated to play extraordinary parts even in his early youth.

22. Cn. Pompeius, born in 106, learnt his first lessons in war[63] at the time of the Marsian war in the army of his father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, who as consul in 89 took Asculum and triumphed over the Picentines, and as proconsul in 88 conquered the Vestinians and Paelignians. The obstinate struggle was not finished, when in 87 Strabo was summoned to Rome with his army by the Senate, to protect the city against the advance of Cinna[64]. There also the young Pompeius accompanied him, and succeeded by his resolute presence of mind in frustrating the mutinous risings in the camp and the plots against the life of his father.

23. When Sulla at the close of the Mithridatic war returned from Greece in 83, the young Pompeius attached himself to his party, raised a force[65] of three

[63]) Ib. II. 29, 3: *hic a toga virili adsuetus commilitio prudentissimi ducis, patris sui, bonum et capax recta discendi ingenium singulari rerum militarium prudentia excoluerat.*

[64]) Plut. Pomp. 3, Dio, XXXVI. 8, 'do you not remember what hardships I endured in the war against Cinna, though I was very young at the time?' The words *extrema pueritia miles*, etc. in Cicero, § 28, refer to the war with Cinna, only Cic. in *extrema pueritia* probably had in his eye also the years immediately preceding, i. e. a portion also of the Marsian war. Cp. Mommsen, III. 318 ff.

[65]) Vell. Pat. II. 29, 1. Cp. Mommsen, III. 332.

legions in the Picene territory, where his father had enjoyed great influence as the largest landholder, from his numerous clients and the remains of his father's army, and led them to join Sulla. Before he effected a union, he succeeded in gaining several advantages over generals of the opposite party, so that he could appear in the character of a conqueror. Hence when Pompeius respectfully greeted Sulla as *imperator*, the latter, highly delighted at the excellent equipments and bearing of the army, as it marched to meet him in its splendid array, returned the same greeting[66]; and after the end of the war in Italy distinguished its youthful general by committing to him the task of reducing the remains of the Marian party who had fled into Sicily and Africa.

24. The subjugation of Sicily was effected in 82 almost without a blow[67]. The execution of Cn. Papirius Carbo and other prominent Marians, who had been brought in as prisoners, may be excused as an act of political necessity: but Pompeius dishonoured himself by the humiliation which he inflicted on the unhappy Carbo before his death[68]. From Sicily Pompeius

66) Plut. Pomp. 8. 67) Mommsen, III. 344. Hence Cic. § 30: *Sicilia quam consilii celeritate explicavit.*

68) Plut. Pomp. 10. 'He seemed also to have acted with inhuman insolence in respect to the misfortunes of Carbo. For if it was necessary for him, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he ought to have done so as soon as he had taken him prisoner; and the deed would have been his who gave the order (sc. Sulla). But he had a Roman, who had thrice been consul, brought before him in bonds, and making him stand before the tribunal he took his seat and tried him, to the grief and indignation of all who were present: and then he bade them lead him away and put him to death.' Comp. also Bell. Civ. I. 96.

proceeded to Africa, to attack Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, with whom Hiarbas, the king of Numidia, was allied. At the head of six legions he defeated the enemy at Utica, and after the storming of the camp was enthusiastically greeted as *imperator* by the victorious army. Domitius had lost his life in the battle: a harder fate was in store for Hiarbas; for he fled into his kingdom, and after the capture of Bulla, was put to death, while Hiempsal succeeded to his throne.

25. The rapidity with which Pompeius had ended the war was equalled by his astonishment at receiving in Utica the order of Sulla to disband the rest of his army, and to await his successor with only one legion. He put a constraint upon himself, and suppressed his vexation: but the rage of his army burst out all the more loudly, and it was with some difficulty that Pompeius succeeded in checking it. The news of a regular mutiny of the legions of Pompeius had already been spread abroad in Italy, so that Sulla lamented his destiny which compelled him in his old age to fight with boys[69]: but when he learned the real state of the case, in order to preserve the appearance of legality, he had his law for the recall of Pompeius vetoed by the tribune of the commons, C. Herennius[70]; and when all were hurrying to meet the victorious young general with his legions, he also went out to receive him,

[69]) He was thinking not only of Pompeius, but also of the younger Marius. [70]) Sall. Hist. fr. II. 62: *Sullam consulem de reditu eius legem ferentem ex composito tribunus pl. C. Herennius prohibuerat.*

and greeted him aloud with the surname *Magnus*[71]. Not content even with such distinctions, Pompeius claimed also the honour of a triumph. Sulla refused this, pointing to the legal provisions, which allowed only a consul or a praetor, not a man who had held no office of state, to triumph[72]. Pompeius ventured to reply with the expression that the rising sun found more to honour it than the setting: and Sulla, struck with his words is said to have cried *triumphato, triumphato.* Thus Rome saw for the first time in 81 the sight of a Roman knight riding in triumph into the city[73]. After this however the dictator treated him with evident coolness, and his displeasure was to be recognised even in his will, in which Pompeius was excluded alike from the guardianship of his children and from any legacy[74].

26. In the disturbances which arose after Sulla's death in the year 78, through the efforts of the consul, M. Aemilius Lepidus, to overthrow the Sullan constitution, Pompeius as the leading soldier of the Sullan

[71]) Plut. Pomp. 13. [72]) Plut. Pomp. 14, who remarks: 'for the law allows a triumph to a consul or a praetor, but to no one else.' This is the first instance of a departure from the rule that no one was entitled to a triumph who was not consul or praetor, and who had not held either of these offices. Murena enjoyed a triumph as a *legatus* of Sulla because he was *vir praetorius:* cp. pro Mur. § 15. [73]) Livii per. 89: *XXIII. annos natus adhuc eques Rom., quod nulli contigerat, ex Africa triumphavit.* Pompeius celebrated his triumph over Hiarbas of Numidia, as afterwards over Spain, not over Sertorius: for in accordance with the principle, that a triumph could only be granted *pro aucto imperio,* the termination of a civil war gave no claim to it. [74]) Plut. Pomp. 15. Lucullus was appointed executor and guardian; and this is said to have furnished the first reason for the hostility between him and Pompeius: cp. Plut. Lucull. 4.

party, was sent against him, together with the second consul, Q. Lutatius Catulus, in virtue of a special commission from the Senate[75], and gave essential help in driving him soon out of Italy and Cisalpine Gaul, and so nipping in the bud a new civil war (77). The command which he then received served as a welcome opportunity for obtaining fresh laurels. He remained with his army, in spite of the demands of Catulus that he should disband it, under all sorts of excuses, in the neighbourhood of Rome[76], desiring the honour of crushing the Marian party in Spain, as he had done in Sicily and Africa.

27. This wish also was fulfilled. For Q. Metellus Pius had but little success against the strategic skill of Sertorius; and hence Pompeius was sent to Spain at the head of a second army with the title of proconsul[77], to take the command against Sertorius in common with Metellus. On his way into Spain in 76 he had several severe engagements with Gallic tribes, who had been incited, as it seems, by emissaries of Sertorius to bar his road[78]. The enemy whom he encountered in Spain

75) This is the only *imperium extraordinarium* which Cic. xxi. has not mentioned. For the revolution of Lepidus see Mommsen, iv. 22 ff.: cp. also iv. 17. 76) Plut. Pomp. 17. 77) This dignity did not confer the *ordo senatorius:* hence Pompeius triumphed for the second time as an *eques:* afterwards other means were devised: see Liv. per. 118: *C. Caesari, qui privatus pro re p. arma sumpserat, propraetoris imperium a senatu datum est cum consularibus ornamentis, adiectumque ut senator esset.* 78) In the letter which Pompeius wrote from Spain to the senate, he says in Sall. (Frag. iii. 1, § 4): *equidem fateor me ad hoc bellum maiore studio quam consilio profectum: quippe qui nomine modo imperii a vobis accepto diebus XL exercitum paravi hostesque in cervici-*

was not to be compared with those with whom Pompeius had hitherto had to do: with various vicissitudes of fortune the war was long protracted. Though in the years 73 and 72 Pompeius gained the upper hand, yet Sertorius finally succumbed, not to the military skill of his opponent, but to treason: he was murdered in 72 by a conspiracy set on foot by Perperna[79]. The new leader of the Marian army could win no confidence, and thus he was with little trouble conquered and slain by Pompeius. After his death his troops were scattered: and this broke also all further opposition on the part of the allied Spanish tribes.

28. The honour of restoring peace to the province in 71 was ascribed almost entirely to Pompeius[80], and on his return his good luck threw in his way a band of 5000 slaves from the army of Spartacus. They had escaped from the battle in Lucania, where their comrades were annihilated, and were attempting to cut their way through into Gaul when they were overtaken by Pompeius in Northern Italy, and cut to pieces. He was petty enough to ascribe to his own calculations what was the result of pure chance, and announced his exploit to the Senate with the words that Crassus had

bus iam Italiae agentes ab Alpibus in Hispaniam summovi. Per eas iter aliud atque Hannibal nobis opportunius patefeci. Recepi Galliam, Pyrenaeum, etc. Mommsen, IV. 27 ff.

[79]) Livii per. 96. Even Cicero's panegyric on the campaign in Spain (§ 30) is somewhat cool. [80]) Sall. fr. IV. 53, *Pompeius devictis Hispanis tropaea in Pyrenaeis iugis constituit.* The inscription was (Plin. N. H. III. § 18) to the effect that he had subjugated 877 towns '*ab Alpibus ad finis Hispaniae ulterioris.*'

defeated the slaves in a battle, but he had plucked the war up by the roots[81].

29. As it was feared that Pompeius would be unwilling to disband his army[82], the Senate gladly conceded to him the honour of a triumph, and absolved him from the laws which stood in the way of his election to the consulship[83]. He solemnized his triumph[84] on Dec. 31, B.C. 71, the day before he entered on his consulship, for the second time in the dress of a simple knight. Hitherto Pompeius had been the idol of the people owing to the splendour of his victories, and now he endeavoured to maintain this favour by popular laws. He thus fell out with the aristocracy, and after being the mainstay of the Sullan party, he was the first to undermine the edifice, which had been erected at the cost of so much blood, by restoring to the tribunate all the prerogatives which it had possessed before the reforms of Sulla, and by securing, through his support

[81]) Plut. Pomp. 21. Cic. refers to this expression in § 30: his words there, '*ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit,*' find their explanation in Plut. Crass. c. 11: 'after first writing to the senate that Lucullus (i.e. Marcus, the brother of Lucius) must be recalled from Thrace and Pompeius from Spain, Crassus changed his mind, and hastened to finish off the war before they should come, knowing that the success would be ascribed to the general who came up and brought him help, and not to himself.' Cic. assumes that the enemy was crippled even by the mere notion of sending for Pompeius. [82]) Plut. Pomp. 21. App. Bell. Civ. I. 121. [83]) viz. from the *lex Villia annalis*, and from the *lex Cornelia de magistratibus*, the latter of which forbade a man to become praetor without having been quaestor, and consul without having been praetor. Cp. Mommsen, IV. 92 ff. [84]) for Spain: see note 72 above, and Florus, II. 10, 9, *sic recepta in pace Hispania: victores duces externum id magis quam civile bellum videri voluerunt, ut triumpharent.*

of it, the passing of the law of the praetor L. Aurelius Cotta, which removed the law-courts from the exclusive control of the senatorial order. At the close of his consulship Pompeius refused the government of a province and waited in Rome, until an opportunity should be offered for him to play an extraordinary part.

30. The desired occasion was presented by the disturbances of the pirates, which at that time had reached an unheard-of height. For twenty years the sea had been rendered unsafe by these curses of human society[85]. The Romans had repeatedly sent out fleets and armies to annihilate the pirates; and the great successes which P. Servilius Vatia won in his three years' campaign, 78—75, warranted the hope that the back of the evil had been broken: but shortly after his return it broke out afresh with still greater violence, so that Rome was compelled to have recourse to extraordinary measures. But this time a mistake was made in the choice of the commander: M. Antonius, the son of the orator and father of the triumvir, who was sent out in 74 with the most extensive powers, earned nothing from his unlimited *imperium* but shame and disgrace. The evil was increased by the renewal of the war with Mithridates; for the dispersion of his fleets brought to the pirates swarms of fresh freebooters.

[85]) Thus Cicero Verr. v. 76 calls the pirates *communes hostes gentium nationumque omnium.* Cp. § 44 of this speech: *commune omnium gentium bellum*, and § 35, *quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur.*

The terrible sufferings of the provinces, the complete destruction of all commerce, the hindrance to the importation of corn, the diminution of the revenues of the state, the honour of the Roman name, in short, every motive prompted the employment of all possible means of rooting out this wide-spread evil.

31. The tribune of the Commons, Aulus Gabinius, now brought forward (B.C. 67)—whether of his own accord or at the suggestion of Pompeius is uncertain[86]—the proposal that in order to the suppression of the pirates one of the consulars should be named as commander for three years with unlimited consular power: he was to receive the *imperium* over the whole of the Mediterranean and over all provinces to a distance of 50 miles from the coast, to have power to appoint 15 lieutenants from men of senatorial rank, to receive a sufficient force in ships and men, and as much money from the state-treasury as might be needful for his purposes. The tribune had not expressly named Pompeius, but it might easily be foreseen that the choice of the people, if they listened to any such proposal, would fall on no one else. The violent opposition of the Senate, which preferred to suffer the worst that the pirates could do rather than give such power into his hands[87], had no other result than that finally even

[86]) Dio, XXXVI. 6. [87]) Vell. Pat. II. 31, 3: *quo senatus consulto paene totius terrarum orbis imperium uni viro deferebatur: sed tamen idem hoc ante septennium in M. Antonii praetura decretum erat, sed interdum persona ut exemplo nocet, ita invidiam auget aut levat: in Antonio homines aequo animo passi erant; raro enim invidetur eorum honoribus, quorum vis*

more was conceded to Pompeius than Gabinius had proposed: among other things, 24 lieutenants instead of 15[88]. The results even of his mere nomination was a considerable fall in the price of corn and other goods, so great were the expectations that were formed of the experienced general[89].

32. Pompeius fully justified the confidence that was placed in him. In this, more than in any of his wars, he displayed a rare capacity and activity. His extremely skilful plan for the campaign was so formed as first to clear the western sea, and starting thence to scare the pirates out of all their corners of refuge and to drive them to the east, where they might receive their *coup de grâce.* At the beginning of the spring Pompeius traversed the whole of the western Mediterranean, and in the short space of 40 days drove the pirates out of all their bays and harbours. He secured the safety of the whole coast from Spain to the Tyrrhenian sea by a suitable distribution of strong naval stations under the command of his lieutenants[90]. Then he returned to Rome, in order to set aside, by his personal intervention, the difficulties which the consul C. Calpurnius Piso had raised against his equipments

non timetur: contra in iis homines extraordinaria reformidant, qui ea suo arbitrio aut posituri aut retenturi videntur et modum in voluntate habent. Dissuadebant optimates, sed consilia impetu victa sunt. For the illegality of this power, see Mommsen, IV. 103. 88) App. Mithr. 94 mentions 25 lieutenants. 89) Plut. Pomp. 26: 'the immediate fall in the price of wares made the delighted people say that the mere name of Pompeius had put an end to the war.' 90) Cic. § 34 f. Plut. 26 ad fin.

and levies: and when all was put right there, hastened to Brundisium, where his main force was awaiting him. All his arrangements had been made so admirably that this second campaign was also brought to a close in the short space of 49 days; and thus the whole war was terminated in not more than three months[91].

33. While Pompeius was still occupied with the pacification of the south of Asia Minor, the Cretans, whom the proconsul Q. Metellus had been subduing since the year 68 with great cruelty, sent envoys to him in Pamphylia, entreating him to take the command against them, as they hoped to receive from him milder treatment than from Metellus. Pompeius had received power over Crete and the forces of Metellus by the Gabinian laws, but still he ought to have paid some regard to the independent legal command of the latter, especially as Metellus did not belong to the number of his lieutenants, and the subjugation of the island had already to all intents and purposes been completed by him. But here too his ambition was eager to reap what others had sown[92]. Hence he

91) Strabo, xiv. p. 665: 'they saw the pirates altogether destroyed by Pompeius Magnus, who burnt more than 1300 ships, and destroyed their settlements, and of the survivors from the battles deported some to Soli, which he named Pompeiopolis, and others to Dyme, which was failing in population, but is now a Roman colony.' 92) Livii per. 99: *praeterea res gestas a Q. Metello adversus Cretenses continet* (sc. liber) *et epistulas Metelli et Cn. Pompei invicem missas. Queritur Q. Metellus gloriam sibi rerum a se gestarum a Pompeio praeripi, qui in Cretam miserit legatum suum ad accipiendas urbium deditiones. Pompeius rationem reddit hoc se facere debuisse.*

turned a gracious ear to the entreaties of the envoys, and sent orders to Metellus through his lieutenant Octavius to stop the war. Metellus paid no attention to these orders, and when another lieutenant, L Cornelius Sisenna, actually brought armed assistance to the Cretans, only replied by treating the wretched inhabitants with still more inhuman severity[93]. The outbreak of civil war between the two rival commanders might have been expected : but Pompeius let the whole affair, which had brought him little honour, quietly drop, especially as his eyes were entirely directed to the unexpected turn, which the war against Mithridates and Tigranes had taken.

34. In the following year 66, when Pompeius was still at the head of his large forces in the eastern Mediterranean, the tribune of the commons, C. Manilius, came forward with the proposal that the conduct of the Mithridatic war also should be entrusted to him. According to this proposition Pompeius was to retain the extraordinary powers which had been conferred upon him by the Gabinian law; but besides this he was to have the supreme command of all the forces at the time in Asia, and to receive the unlimited rights of a governor, not merely in the provinces already Roman, Asia (*Asia propria*), Bithynia, and Cilicia, but also in the rest of Asia as far as Armenia. This meant simply to put the Roman empire into the power of a single man[94]. As we can

[93]) Plut. Pomp. 29. App. Exc. p. 47, 17 ed. Bekk. Dionis fragm. I. p. 102 Bekk., Florus I. 42, Vell. II. 34. [94]) Plut.

easily understand, the law met with the greatest opposition among the *optimates.* To say nothing of the fact that it compelled the proconsuls M'. Acilius Glabrio and Q. Marcius Rex to resign before the termination of their year of office[95], a commission, which gave to a man, who had long overstepped the limits of the equality that should rule among citizens, an absolutely unprecedented extension of supreme power, must have awakened their keenest displeasure. Hence they pledged each other mutually to a unanimous and most decided opposition: but when the time for voting[96] drew near, they began to despair, in presence of the feeling of the people, and all were silent except Q. Lutatius Catulus and Q. Hortensius[97]. But though the speakers represented with conclusive arguments the danger which threatened the common freedom from the acceptance of the proposal, all arguments based upon reason had to give way before the utterance of the will of the people: the resolution, with the support of several senators[98], was passed by all the tribes.

35. Among the men of senatorial rank who spoke in favour of the proposal, the historian Cassius Dio gives especial prominence to two, C. Julius Caesar and M. Tullius Cicero. These, he says[99], supported the rogation, not as deeming it beneficial to the state,

Pomp. 30. [95]) Dio, xxxvi. 26 (43, ed. Bekk.). [96]) The rogation seems to have been brought directly before the people: at least we have no intimation of any previous discussion, as there had been in the case of the Gabinian law (Cic. § 52). [97]) Plut. Pomp. 30. Cp. Mommsen, iv. 110. [98]) Cic. § 68. [99]) xxxvi. 26 (43 p. 121 Bekk.).

or as wishing to do Pompeius a pleasure, but Caesar wished, as the law would have passed without any advocacy[100], on the one hand to show the people, whom he saw to be much more powerful than the senate, his readiness to execute their wishes, and on the other hand to pave the way for similar privileges to be conferred upon himself in the future. He had also the further view of bringing Pompeius into still greater disfavour by this fresh extraordinary power. Cicero, on the other hand, who was aiming at a decisive influence upon the guidance of public affairs, wished to use this opportunity to show the people as well as the senate that whatever party he joined in a doubtful question, would thereby gain the preponderance. For he wavered in his politics, and attached himself now to one party, now to another, that his favours might be sought by both. It was at any rate an arrant trick of political inconstancy that a man who had previously claimed to represent the cause of the optimates, and had hence preferred to stand for the aedileship rather than the tribunate, should now lend his voice so decidedly to the foolish wishes of the populace.

36. As this judgment of Dio, even though it contains some truth, must still be regarded as too severe, it is proper for us to examine more closely the reasons which may have induced Cicero to support with all the force of his eloquence a proposal which he himself

100) Cic. § 48 ad fin., 64, 69, 71.

blamed in later years[101]. Undoubtedly several reasons combined to induce him to do so. In the first place he believed, as he himself expressly says, that, in view of the manifest favour which the people had shown him hitherto in electing him to one office after another, he was obliged to justify the confidence reposed in him, by throwing into the scale the great weight of his expressed opinion, in his high position as praetor. He wished in this way to discharge to the people the tribute of his gratitude by meeting their wishes in a question which excited so much interest; so that we may well believe his assurances that he had not been influenced by any special requests on the part of Pompeius or his friends in Rome[102] to contribute his share also to his glorification. But it is hard to determine whether he was entirely free from any notion of personal advantage with respect to his own future canvass for the consulship[103], or whether he felt so sure already of the favour of the people that he ventured to expect from them alone his advancement to the highest honours. Appearances speak for the former, while his emphatic recommendation of the popular favourite betrays also the secondary design of securing his own influence with the people.

101) Phil. XI. § 18: *de Cn. Pompeii imperiis tribuni pl. turbulenti tulerunt.* 102) § 70. 103) § 70, 71. Q. Cic. de petit. cons. § 5: *hi (homines nobiles) rogandi omnes sunt diligenter persuadendumque iis nos semper cum optimatibus de re p. sensisse, minime populares fuisse; si quid locuti populariter videamur, id nos eo consilio fuisse, ut nobis Cn. Pompeium adiungeremus, ut eum, qui plurimum posset, aut amicum in nostra petitione haberemus aut certe non adversarium.*

37. But he expected to be able to be of service not merely to the people, but also to the equestrian order[104], whose interests Cicero always defended so vigorously. The knights hated Lucullus, and thus were the natural supporters of Pompeius: in the terror which the name of Mithridates occasioned, the new dangers with which the provinces of Asia Minor were threatened may well have appeared in a still more alarming light, and no general but Pompeius seemed strong enough to scatter the peril. But that in Asia, where his friends had long been working on his behalf, no other general than he was desired, Cicero himself gives us to understand in plain words[105]. If the question was there regarded from this point of view, it is easier to excuse Cicero for being dazzled by the splendour of the fame of Pompeius, and for being really convinced that by supporting him he was advancing the true good of the commonwealth. He too perhaps viewed the position of things in Asia in a darker light than the case actually justified, while the dangers dreaded from Pompeius personally might well appear to him much exaggerated, in view of the great services which he had rendered in tranquillizing so many provinces, or even entirely based upon the imagination of his opponents. If Cicero had seen a real danger for the stability of the republic in the proposal of Manilius, we may fairly presume from his patriotism that he would have opposed it, not supported it:

[104]) § 4. [105]) § 5 ad fin. 12, 13.

that he advocated it is rather a proof of short-sighted policy than of conscious treason to the interests of his country.

38. From the point of view from which Cicero viewed the question, we can explain the manner in which he treated the case as an orator. The aim of the speech is not so much to convince—for the people were already prejudiced in favour of the proposal—as to sustain this conviction[106]. If he had discussed the question from a purely political standpoint, he would have had to examine in the first place, where the true interest of the state lay; he would have had to determine, after careful consideration, whether the external advantages which might be expected for the republic from the nomination of Pompeius would not be compensated by the possible disadvantages which it might suffer at home[107]: whether further the existing war was really so important that

[106]) Cp. C. W. Haun's *Estimation of the speech of Cicero on behalf of the Manilian proposal* (Merseburg, 1827), p. 30: 'As Cicero had not to recommend a proposal to a popular assembly which was prejudiced against it, and which he would have been obliged to persuade, it was rather his object to give force and significance to the feelings and wishes of the people, by setting forth their opinions in a clear and graceful statement, which was made at once instructive and interesting by connecting it with the history of the time. It is these considerations which determine the whole arrangement and course of a speech, which is only giving utterance to the feelings of the people. This is shown also by the calm tone, and the entire absence of any strong expressions intended to produce conviction. Almost all inferences are made with the phrase "will any one still doubt?" Cp. cc. 7, 10, 14, 15, 16, 23, 24.' [107]) His own *propositio* is given by Cic. § 3: *dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompei singulari eximiaque virtute.*

there was any justification or necessity to create once more a power at variance with the fundamental principles of the constitution: whether there was no one but Pompeius to whom the successful conduct of the war could be entrusted: whether finally his previous life gave adequate guarantees that he would not misuse the new elevation of his dignity to the overthrow of the republic. All these questions were avoided by the orator, because any such discussion must have appeared inconvenient for his purpose. Cicero knew the intention of the people to transfer to Pompeius the conduct of the war; so his endeavours are only directed to strengthening still more by his speech the firm resolve of the people.

39. His argument is divided into three main sections. The first deals with the *genus belli*, *i. e.* its necessity; the second with the greatness and dangerous character of the war; the third with the choice of the general. The first two sections might have been dispensed with in a political harangue, for neither the necessity nor the danger of the war would be denied by an opponent, though the latter is greatly exaggerated by the orator[108]: but considering the ora-

[108]) Drumann, Gesch. Roms, IV. 166, well remarks, 'The best of the troops of the enemy had been destroyed, the fleets annihilated, the most important strongholds captured and in part destroyed, and the soldiers had no doubt that they could conquer even on the further side of the Halys and the Euphrates. The historians of antiquity are almost unanimous in saying that Pompeius had little left to do. But appearances were against Lucullus. The king of Pontus had torn from him a great part of his conquests, and revenged himself by the defeat of Triarius: the army was broken up,

tor's special aim, the discussion of these two divisions was certainly not out of place. It was intended to carry the conviction that the war in question was one, on the success of which the welfare of the state depended, and that therefore the choice of a commander required all the greater care.

40. The orator thus gained a firmer basis for the argument of the third part, in which the general statement[109] of the qualities required by a great general is followed by the proof that Pompeius unites in himself all these qualities in the highest degree[110]. This part of his speech Cicero has executed with great art, and also with a certain moderation in his panegyric, which is shown by the calmness of its tone. His ability comes out conspicuously in the passages in which he speaks of the success of Pompeius in the war with the pirates, and his noble moderation in victory, and also where he points out that the position of the Asiatic provinces requires the appointment of one who knows how to be not merely a soldier, but also a man, if these severely tried countries are not to be utterly ruined. We might have expected from the skill of the orator that he would not fail to employ in favour of Pompeius the fortunate circumstance that he was at the very time

military discipline had disappeared, and the honour of the Roman arms was imperilled. A victim of mutiny and jealousy, to which a stronger man indeed would not have succumbed, Lucullus returned to Rome.' [109]) See Halm's note on pro Rosc. § 62. [110]) Precisely the same kind of argument is put by Dio, xxxvi. 10, into the mouth of Gabinius, when he is making a speech in support of his rogation on the wars with the pirates.

near the scene of war at the head of a considerable force[111]: this circumstance must have carried all the more weight, inasmuch as in the first two sections of the speech he had strongly recommended a speedy and energetic renewal of the war.

41. The weakest part of the speech is evidently the *confutatio*, the rebutting of his opponents' arguments. As Cicero seems to make the interest of the state to depend solely upon a successful issue of the war, he appears to regard the arguments of his opponents as quite unworthy of any serious refutation. The objection of Hortensius, that all ought not to be entrusted to a single man, is treated as worn out, and refuted by facts, just as though Hortensius, when he brought forward the same objection in opposing the Gabinian law, had been mistaken in his contention, or had opposed the proposition because he mistrusted the military talents of Pompeius. Hence, instead of showing that the fears of those who regarded the repeated conferring of military commands upon the same person as dangerous to the republic, were groundless, Cicero goes off into a rhetorical picture of the trouble and shame into which the state had been brought by the annoyances of the pirates, and praises Pompeius as the restorer of the security of the empire and the honour of the Roman name, intimating at the same time that the opposition to the present law, like that of the

[111]) § 50: cp. also § 11: *Cuius adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intellegunt ac retardatos.*

earlier law of Gabinius, had originated merely in jealousy at these services.

42. Cicero then turns to the objection of Catulus, who had maintained that no innovations must be introduced against the principles and regulations of their ancestors. This patriot certainly had not failed to see that extraordinary circumstances required for the time extraordinary measures: but previously, when opposing the Gabinian law, he had referred to the instances of Marius and Sulla[112] as showing how ruinous repeated violations of the constitution had proved to be. Now how does Cicero meet the fresh warning, to keep at last to the path of the constitution? He shows in the case of Marius himself, and also of Pompeius, that the rule of their ancestors had already been frequently departed from, and hence that there was nothing surprising in a new deviation from it. Such sophistry would necessarily excite our indignation, if it had not at any rate a rhetorical ground of excuse. The enumeration of the innovations, which had been introduced in the person of Pompeius, was intended to awaken in the people the belief that Pompeius was an altogether extraordinary personage[113], who by his greatness threw all other men into the shade. For if the Roman state had had others like him, the senate or the people would not so frequently have entrusted important commands and extraordinary powers to one and the same man.

112) Dio, xxxvi. 14 (31 Bekk.). 113) § 42: *qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur.*

43. The weakness of this reply to, or more correctly, perversion of the views of his opponents, could not fail to have been seen by Cicero: hence in a special digression[114], he dwells upon the sufferings of the provinces. The orator has, in consequence of this, been quite unjustly reproached with a wearisome repetition; and indeed some have been absurd enough to mark the whole passage as an interpolation. The repetition is only an apparent one, and there are good reasons for it. In the earlier passages, in which similar thoughts occur (especially § 36 ff.), the point is to show that Pompeius, on the ground of his *virtutes imperatoriae,* is the most *suitable* man to be entrusted with the conduct of the war: in the present digression Cicero endeavours to show that he is the *only* one on whom the various nations in Asia look with confidence, and that a general of the ordinary stamp could not possibly be sent to countries so exhausted by the war. What Cicero means is stated most clearly in the words (§ 67) *quasi vero Pompeium non cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus:* by his great personal merits Pompeius (he says) appears to be relatively the most worthy, by the faults and weaknesses of others he is seen to be the only possible general, and the people must make up its mind to choose him, whatever the weight they may attach to the objections of the opponents. The positive argument, which the orator has thus gained against those

114) *Atque in hoc bello,* etc. § 64 to § 68.

who resist the passage of the law, is still further strengthened at the end of the *confutatio* by recounting the important personages from the ranks of the optimates, among them military notabilities of the highest repute, who joined Cicero in recommending the acceptance of the Manilian proposal.

44. For us this speech, apart from the great attractions of the clear and graceful narrative, and the harmonious beauty of the well-rounded language, which makes it a masterpiece of the *medium* (*mediocre*) *dicendi genus*[115], offers the special interest that from it better than from any other relic of antiquity, we can discover the regular arrangement of a speech belonging to the deliberative class. The third section of the argument may at the same time be regarded as a model of the *demonstrativum genus causarum*, a kind of oratory which is employed hardly anywhere besides in the time of the Roman republic, except in the *laudationes funebres*[116].

[115]) See esp. Auct. ad Her. IV. 8, 11. Cic. *Orator*, § 101: *is erit igitur eloquens, qui poterit parva summisse, modica temperate* (i.e. in the *mediocre dicendi genus*), *magna graviter dicere. Fuit ornandus in Manilia lege Pompeius; temperata oratione ornandi copiam persecuti sumus.* [116]) ad Herenn. III. c. 8: *nec hoc genus causae* [sc. *demonstrativum*] *eo quod raro accidit in vita neglegentius commentandum est; neque enim id, quod potest accidere ut faciendum sit aliquando, non oportet velle quam commodissime posse facere; et si separatim haec causa minus saepe tractatur, at in iudicialibus et in deliberativis causis saepe magnae partes versantur laudis aut vituperationis, quare in hoc quoque genere causae nonnihil industriae consumendum putavimus.*

M. TULLI CICERONIS

DE

IMPERIO GNAEI POMPEI

ORATIO AD QUIRITES.

I. Quamquam mihi semper frequens conspectus 1
vester multo iucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit, non mea me voluntas adhuc, sed vitae meae rationes ab ineunte aetate susceptae prohibuerunt. Nam cum antea per aetatem nondum huius auctoritatem loci attingere auderem statueremque nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria adferri oportere, omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. Ita neque hic locus 2
vacuus umquam fuit ab iis, qui vestram causam defenderent, et meus labor, in privatorum periculis caste integreque versatus, ex vestro iudicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam cum propter dilationem comitiorum ter praetor primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me iudicaretis et quid aliis praescriberetis. Nunc, cum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honori-

bus mandandis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu prope cotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit adferre, certe et si quid auctoritatis in me est, apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt, et si quid in dicendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei
3 fructum suo iudicio tribuendum esse duxerunt. Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum iure esse video, quod in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi causa talis oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompei singulari eximiaque virtute: huius autem orationis difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus est.

4 II. Atque ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur, bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus ac sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur, Mithridate et Tigrane, quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblatam esse arbitrantur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, adferuntur ex Asia cotidie litterae, quorum magnae res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae; qui ad me pro necessitudine, quae mihi est cum illo ordine, causam rei publicae
5 periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt: Bithyniae, quae nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures: regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; L. Lucullum magnis rebus gestis ab eo bello discedere; huic qui successerit non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque ex-

peti, eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.

Causa quae sit videtis: nunc quid agendum sit 6
considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum. Genus est belli eius modi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad persequendi studium debeat: in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quae vobis a maioribus cum magna in omnibus rebus, tum summa in re militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa maiores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt; aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis; aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et rei publicae causa consulendum. III. Et 7
quoniam semper adpetentes gloriae praeter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda est vobis illa macula Mithridatico bello superiore concepta, quae penitus iam insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani nomine, quod is, qui uno die tota in Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio atque una significatione litterarum cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc poenam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum iam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et ita regnat, ut se non Ponti neque Cappadociae latebris occultare velit, sed emergere ex patrio regno atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est in Asiae luce versari. Etenim adhuc ita nostri 8
cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate,

duo fortissimi viri et summi imperatores, sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verum tamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quod egerunt, venia danda, quod reliquerunt, propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica, Murenam Sulla revocavit.

9 IV. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit: qui postea quam maximas aedificasset ornassetque classes exercitusque permagnos quibuscumque ex gentibus posset comparasset et se Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet, usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, cum duobus in locis diiunctissimis maximeque diversis uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, vos ancipiti contentione districti de imperio dimicaretis.
10 Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis, quae multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompei divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est: in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut initia illa rerum gestarum magna atque praeclara non felicitati eius, sed virtuti, haec autem extrema, quae nuper acciderunt, non culpae, sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione mea neque falsa adficta esse videatur: de vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meae, videte quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Maiores nostri saepe, mercatoribus aut naviculariis vestris iniuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt: vos,

tot milibus civium Romanorum uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis, quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati quod erant appellati superbius, Corinthum patres vestri, totius Graeciae lumen, exstinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui legatum populi Romani consularem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi libertatem civium Romanorum imminutam non tulerunt: vos vitam ereptam neglegetis? ius legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt: vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum relinquetis? Videte ne, ut illis 12
pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperii gloriam tradere, sic vobis turpissimum sit id quod accepistis tueri et conservare non posse.

Quid? quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur, quo tandem animo ferre debetis? Regno est expulsus Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus; imminent duo reges toti Asiae, non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitates autem omnes cuncta Asia atque Graecia vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur; imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, cum praesertim vos alium miseritis, neque audent neque se id facere sine summo periculo posse arbitrantur. Vident et sentiunt hoc idem quod 13
vos, unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum propter esse, quo etiam carent aegrius: cuius adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intellegunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam libere loqui non licet, tacite rogant, ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis

quorum salutem tali viro commendetis, atque hoc etiam magis, quod ceteros in provinciam eius modi homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiam si ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant: hunc audiebant antea, nunc praesentem vident tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

14 VI. Quare, si propter socios, nulla ipsi iniuria lacessiti, maiores nostri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Aetolis, cum Poenis bella gesserunt, quanto vos studio convenit, iniuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere, praesertim cum de maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus: Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis et multitudine earum rerum, quae exportantur, facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque haec vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere vultis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defendenda.

15 Nam in ceteris rebus, cum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur: at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse adfert calamitatem. Nam cum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si inruptio nulla facta est, tamen pecua relinquuntur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest; quare saepe totius

anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terrore amittitur. Quo tandem animo esse existimatis 16 aut eos, qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint? cum una excursio equitatus perbrevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? cum publicani familias maximas, quas in saltibus habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaritis, non solum, ut ante dixi, calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos?

VII. Ac ne illud quidem vobis neglegendum est, 17 quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, cum essem de belli genere dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet: quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines honestissimi atque ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt, quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunae vobis curae esse debent; etenim si vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte esse dicemus. Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines gnavi atque in- 18 dustrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Erit igitur humanitatis vestrae magnum numerum eorum civium calamitate prohibere, sapientiae videre, multorum civium calamitatem a re publica seiunctam esse non posse. Etenim primum illud parvi refert, nos †publicanis amissis vectigalia postea victoria recuperare;

neque enim isdem redimendi facultas erit propter calamitatem neque aliis voluntas propter timorem.
19 Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit, id quidem certe calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus. Nam tum, cum in Asia res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus Romae solutione impedita fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem ac fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem trahant calamitatem. A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam, et mihi credite, id quod ipsi videtis: haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae Romae, quae in foro versatur, implicata est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis et cohaeret; ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant. Quare videte num dubitandum vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimorum civium coniunctae cum re publica defendantur.

20 VIII. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici, belli genus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum, non esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime laborandum est, ne forte ea vobis, quae diligentissime providenda sunt, contemnenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intellegant me L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro et sapienti homini et magno imperatori debeatur, dico eius adventu maximas Mithridatis copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum, obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine et oppugnatam vehementissime,

quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio summis obsidionis periculis liberavit: ab eodem imperatore 21
classem magnam et ornatam, quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam; magnas hostium praeterea copias multis proeliis esse deletas patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui antea populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus fuisset; Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornatas atque refertas, ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno aditu adventuque esse captas; regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse: atque haec omnia salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus esse gesta. Satis opinor haec esse laudis, atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intellegatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causae, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

IX. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quem ad modum, 22
cum haec ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites; non enim hoc sine causa quaeri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur, quam praedicant in fuga fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa maerorque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a maioribus acceperat et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e

manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio
23 maeror, hos laetitia tardavit. Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit et adflictum erexit perditumque recreavit. Cuius in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus iniectus iis nationibus, quas numquam populus Romanus neque lacessendas bello neque temptandas putavit: erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Ita nationes multae atque magnae novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus tametsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat et proeliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio
24 suorum commovebatur. Hic iam plura non dicam; fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus quam processio longior quaereretur. Mithridates autem et suam manum iam confirmarat, et eorum, qui se ex eius regno collegerant, et magnis adventiciis auxiliis multorum regum et nationum iuvabatur. Nam hoc fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum adflictae fortunae facile multorum opes adliciant ad misericordiam maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno, ut iis nomen regale
25 magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis numquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum suum recepisset, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei praeter spem acciderat, ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram umquam

attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poetae solent, qui res Romanas scribunt, praeterire me nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius, sed ex
sermone rumor adferret. Hic in illo ipso malo gravis- 26
simaque belli offensione L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro iussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis, partem militum, qui iam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem M'. Glabrioni tradidit. Multa praetereo consulto, sed ea vos coniectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod coniungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integrae gentes, novus imperator noster accipiat vetere exercitu pulso. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare esset hoc bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum: restat ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo dicendum esse videatur.

X. Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque in- 27
nocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum putaretis! nunc vero cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit, quae res est quae cuiusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit?
Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor 28
has res inesse oportere: scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior umquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? qui e ludo

atque pueritiae disciplinis, bello maximo atque acerrimis hostibus, ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est; qui extrema pueritia miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris, ineunte adulescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator; qui saepius cum hoste conflixit quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit quam ceteri legerunt, plures provincias confecit quam alii concupiverunt; cuius adulescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli sed victoriis, non stipendiis sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus esse belli potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei publicae? Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense [mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus], servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta nullam rem esse declarant in usu positam militari, quae huius viri scientiam fugere possit.

29 XI. Iam vero virtuti Cn. Pompei quae potest oratio par inveniri? quid est quod quisquam aut illo dignum aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum possit adferre? Neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo, quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus,
30 quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt. Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla huius virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam: testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate explicavit: testis est Africa,

quae magnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit: testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris iter in Hispaniam Gallorum internicione patefactum est: testis est Hispania, quae saepissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit: testis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae cum servili bello taetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit, quod bellum exspectatione eius attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu
sublatum ac sepultum: testes nunc vero iam omnes 31
orae atque omnes exterae gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia, cum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut hieme aut referto praedonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum quis umquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno aut
omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse? Quam 32
provinciam tenuistis a praedonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui praesidio classibus vestris fuistis? Quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas, quam multas aut metu relictas aut a praedonibus captas urbes esse sociorum? XII. Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis ego nostris mare per hosce annos clausum fuisse dicam, cum exercitus vestri numquam a Brundisio nisi hieme

summa transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, cum legati populi Romani redempti sint? mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, cum duodecim secures in praedonum potestatem
33 pervenerint? Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias captas esse commemorem, cum vestros portus atque eos portus, quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisse potestate sciatis? An vero ignoratis portum Caietae celeberrimum ac plenissimum navium inspectante praetore a praedonibus esse direptum? ex Miseno autem eius ipsius liberos, qui cum praedonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a praedonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego Ostiense incommodum atque illam labem atque ignominiam rei publicae querar, cum prope inspectantibus vobis classis ea, cui consul populi Romani praepositus esset, a praedonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro di immortales! tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem adferre rei publicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, nunc nullam intra Oceani ostium praedonum navem esse
34 audiatis? Atque haec qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt. Quis enim umquam aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quaestus studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce tanti belli impetus navigavit? qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit, in Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae
35 firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit. Inde cum

se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Gallia transalpina praesidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaiam omnemque Graeciam navibus Italiae duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit, ipse autem, ut Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adiunxit: omnes, qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius huius se imperio ac potestati dediderunt. Idem Cretensibus, cum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme adparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media aestate confecit.

XIII. Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus 36
imperatoris: quid? ceterae, quas paulo ante commemorare coeperam, quantae atque quam multae sunt! Non enim bellandi virtus solum in summo ac perfecto imperatore quaerenda est, sed multae sunt artes eximiae huius administrae comitesque virtutis. Ac primum quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores! quanta deinde in omnibus rebus temperantia! quanta fide, quanta facilitate, quanto ingenio, quanta humanitate! quae breviter qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio consideremus; summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites, sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intellegi possunt. Quem enim impera- 37
torem possumus ullo in numero putare, cuius in exercitu centuriatus veneant atque venierint? quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica

cogitare, qui pecuniam ex aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum aut propter cupiditatem provinciae magistratibus diviserit aut propter avaritiam Romae in quaestu reliquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui haec fecerint: ego autem nomino neminem; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum quantas calamitates, quocumque ventum est, nostri exercitus
38 ferant, quis ignorat? Itinera, quae per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerint, recordamini: tum facilius statuetis, quid apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipse non continet, neque severus esse in iudicando, qui alios in se severos esse
39 iudices non vult. Hic miramur hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cuius legiones sic in Asiam pervenerint, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Iam vero quem ad modum milites hibernent, cotidie sermones ac litterae perferuntur. Non modo ut sumptum faciat in militem nemini vis adfertur, sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritiae perfugium maiores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

40 XIV. Age vero ceteris in rebus qua ille sit temperantia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia vis remigum aut ars inaudita

quaedam gubernandi aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt, sed eae res, quae ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem; postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. Itaque omnes nunc in iis locis 41
Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de caelo delapsum intuentur; nunc denique incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam continentia, quod iam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriae proditum videbatur; nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucem adferre coepit; nunc intellegunt non sine causa maiores suos tum, cum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano quam imperare aliis maluisse.
Iam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita 42
liberae querimoniae de aliorum iniuriis esse dicuntur, ut is qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate infimis par esse videatur. Iam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoria, vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco saepe cognovistis. Fidem vero eius quantam inter socios existimari putatis, quam hostes omnes omnium generum sanctissimam iudicarint? Humanitate iam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem eius pugnantes timuerint an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit quin huic hoc tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui

ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

43 XV. Et quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis administrandis multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existiment, quis ignorat, cum sciamus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant aut metuant, aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri? Quod igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cuius res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam praeclara
44 iudicia fecistis? An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, quo non illius diei fama pervaserit, cum universus populus Romanus referto foro completisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam neque aliorum exemplis confirmem, quantum auctoritas valeat in bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur: qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annonae ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vix in summa uber-
45 tate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. Iam accepta in Ponto calamitate ex eo proelio, de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, cum socii pertimuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, amisissetis Asiam,

Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen eius temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Huius adventus et Mithridatem insolita inflatum victoria continuit et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit? XVI. Age vero illa res 46
quantam declarat eiusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis tam brevi tempore omnes huic se uni dediderunt: quod Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt! Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? eum quem Pompeius legatum semper iudicavit, ii, quibus erat molestum ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem quam legatum iudicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur iam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem, multis postea rebus gestis magnisque vestris iudiciis amplificatam, quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exteras nationes valituram esse existimetis.

Reliquum est ut de felicitate, quam praestare de se 47
ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut aequum est homines de potestate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo, Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario et ceteris magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque

exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibus-
dam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et ad
gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus
adiuncta fortuna. De huius autem hominis felicitate,
de quo nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi,
non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam,
sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur,
ne aut invisa dis immortalibus oratio nostra aut in-
48 grata esse videatur. Itaque non sum praedicaturus,
quantas ille res domi militiae, terra marique, quantaque
felicitate gesserit, ut eius semper voluntatibus non
modo cives adsenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes
oboedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecunda-
rint: hoc brevissime dicam, neminem umquam tam
impudentem fuisse, qui ab dis immortalibus tot et
tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas di
immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt: quod ut
illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, cum com-
munis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa,
sicuti facitis, velle et optare debetis.

49 Quare cum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut neglegi
non possit, ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit adminis-
trandum, et cum ei imperatorem praeficere possitis, in
quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, claris-
sima auctoritas, egregia fortuna, dubitatis, Quirites,
quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis ab dis immortalibus
oblatum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandam
50 atque amplificandam conferatis? XVII. Quodsi
Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore,
tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mit-
tendus: nunc, cum ad ceteras summas utilitates haec
quoque opportunitas adiungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis

adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis qui habent accipere statim possit, quid exspectamus? aut cur non ducibus dis immortalibus eidem, cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicae commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committamus?

At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicae, 51
vestris beneficiis amplissimis adfectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunae, virtutis, ingenii praeditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse et valere oportere confiteor, sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscetis auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen omissis auctoritatibus ipsa re ac ratione exquirere possumus veritatem, atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quae a me adhuc dicta sunt, eidem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. Quid igitur ait 52
Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium, sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit iam ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi et in senatu contra virum fortem, A. Gabinium, graviter ornateque dixisti, cum is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra eam legem verba fecisti. Quid? tum, per deos im- 53
mortales, si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium hoc esse

videbatur, cum populi Romani legati, quaestores praetoresque capiebantur? cum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu et privato et publico prohibebamur? cum ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam neque publicam iam obire possemus?

54 XVIII. Quae civitas antea umquam fuit—non dico Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, non Karthaginiensium, qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus valuerunt, non Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit,—quae [civitas] umquam antea tam tenuis, tam parva insula fuit, quae non portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque orae maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At hercule aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cuius usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserit, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii

55 caruit. Nos, quorum maiores Antiochum regem classe Persemque superarunt omnibusque navalibus pugnis Karthaginienses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ii nullo in loco iam praedonibus pares esse poteramus: nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos praestare poteramus, tum, cum insula Delos, tam procul a nobis in Aegaeo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro, nihil timebat, eidem non modo provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portubus nostris, sed etiam Appia iam via carebamus. Et iis temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum

locum escendere, cum eum nobis maiores nostri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent.

XIX. Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus 56
Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea quae sentiebatis, sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit quam auctoritati vestrae obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit, sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. Quo mihi etiam indignius 57
videtur obtrectatum esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam anne Pompeio an utrique, id quod est verius, ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum quem velit, idoneus non est qui impetret, cum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias quos voluerunt legatos eduxerint, an ipse, cuius lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloriae eius imperatoris atque eius exercitus, qui consilio ipsius ac periculo est constitutus? An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius 58
Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes honoris causa nomino, cum tribuni pl. fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt: in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo iure esse deberet? De quo legando consules spero ad senatum relaturos: qui si dubitabunt aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum, neque me impediet cuiusquam inimicum edictum, quo minus fretus vobis vestrum ius beneficiumque defendam,

neque praeter intercessionem quidquam audiam, de qua, ut arbitror, isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam quid liceat considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius adscribitur, propterea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

59 XX. Reliquum est ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui cum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri, cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, cum omnes una prope voce in ipso vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet
60 summi viri vita atque virtute. At enim 'ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta maiorum.' Non dicam hoc loco, maiores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse; non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta duasque urbes potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Karthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas; non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum

Iugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret: in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta recordamini.

XXI. Quid tam novum quam adulescentulum 61
privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere? confecit; huic praeesse? praefuit; rem optime ductu suo gerere? gessit. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem quam homini peradulescenti, cuius aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti atque Africam bellumque in ea provincia administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute; bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphare? at eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed omnium etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam putavit. Quid tam 62
inusitatum quam, cum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, ut eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? missus est. Quo quidem tempore cum esset non nemo in senatu qui diceret, non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule, L. Philippus dixisse dicitur, non se illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus mittere. Tanta in eo rei publicae bene gerendae spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adulescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut iterum

eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt quam
63 haec, quae in hoc uno homine videmus. Atque haec tot exempla, tanta ac tam nova, profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum eiusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompei dignitate a vobis comprobatam semper esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homine iudicium populique Romani auctoritatem improbari, praesertim cum iam suo iure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes qui dissentiunt possit defendere, propterea quod isdem istis reclamantibus vos unum illum ex omnibus
64 delegistis, quem bello praedonum praeponeretis. Hoc si vos temere fecistis et rei publicae parum consuluistis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur: sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis, vos his repugnantibus per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis, aliquando isti principes et sibi et ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur.

Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio non solum militaris illa virtus, quae est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliae quoque virtutes animi magnae et multae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria regnisque interiorum nationum ita versari nostrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud nisi de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde etiam si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse tales propter multi-

tudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur. Difficile 65
est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et iniurias. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? Urbes iam locupletes et copiosae requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter
diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur. Libenter haec coram 66
cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem; noverunt enim sociorum vulnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? Quae civitas est in Asia, quae non modo imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit? XXIII. Quare etiam si quem habetis, qui collatis signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen, nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum coniugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque
mittatur. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, 67
quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim praetores locupletari quotannis pecunia publica praeter paucos, neque eos quidquam aliud adsequi classium nomine, nisi ut detrimentis accipiendis maiore adfici turpitudine videremur. Nunc qua cupiditate

homines in provincias et quibus iacturis, quibus condicionibus proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitrantur: quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam
68 alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus. Quare nolite dubitare quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant.

Quodsi auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius, cuius tantae res gestae terra marique exstiterunt, ut, cum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior nemo esse debeat; est C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia praeditus; est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovistis; est C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. Quare videte, horumne auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

69 XXIV. Quae cum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementissimeque comprobo; deinde te hortor ut auctore populo Romano maneas in sententia neve cuiusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi perseverantiaeque arbitror; deinde cum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam iterum nunc in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus, quid est quod aut de re aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quidquid

hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac potestate
praetoria, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum,
id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi et populo
Romano polliceor ac defero; testorque omnes deos et 70
eos maxime, qui huic loco temploque praesident, qui
omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rem publicam adeunt,
maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cuiusquam,
neque quo Cn. Pompei gratiam mihi per hanc
causam conciliari putem, neque quo mihi ex cuiusquam
amplitudine aut praesidia periculis aut adiumenta
honoribus quaeram, propterea quod pericula facile, ut
hominem praestare oportet, innocentia tecti repellemus,
honorem autem neque ab uno neque ex hoc loco, sed
eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra
voluntas feret, consequemur. Quam ob rem, quidquid 71
in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id omne ego
me rei publicae causa suscepisse confirmo, tantumque
abest ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quaesisse videar,
ut multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim
apertas intellegam, mihi non necessarias, vobis non
inutiles suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum,
tantis vestris beneficiis adfectum statui, Quirites,
vestram voluntatem et rei publicae dignitatem et
salutem provinciarum atque sociorum meis omnibus
commodis et rationibus praeferre oportere.

NOTES.

C. I. § 1. **conspectus**, 'sight,' in the passive sense, i.e. here 'assembly before my eyes:' hence *frequens vester* not *frequentiae vestrae*. [*frequens*, 'crowded.']

locus, the *rostra:* cp. § 55 ad fin. § 70: **ad agendum**: i.e. *cum populo:* a privilege of the higher magistrates: *ad dicendum*, on the other hand, refers to private citizens, whom a magistrate allowed to speak from the orators' platform. And so the adjectives correspond—*amplissimus*, 'the most dignified, or important,' as the place from which the magistrate had his dealings with the people that ruled the world; *ornatissimus*, 'the most honourable,' for it was a high honour for any orator to be allowed to address a meeting from it.

[**tamen** belongs to the second clause only: the force is best brought out by translating by an equivalent expression in the passive voice; 'yet I have been excluded from this pathway to fame, not indeed by my wishes hitherto, but by etc.']

[**aditu laudis**, 'pathway to fame,' an objective genitive: cp. *earum rerum aditum*, de Orat. I. § 98.]

optimo cuique, because it was open to the magistrates in the first place.

vitae rationes, 'plans of life:' cp. in Cat. II. 13, *ratio belli*, 'plan of war,' pro Arch. 1, *ratio studiorum*.

ab ineunte aetate, i.e. from my entrance upon the life of a citizen, after putting on the *toga virilis:* this is always the force of this phrase. Cic. came forward as an orator first when he was 26 years of age, but at first only in *causae privatae*. [The speech *de imperio Cn. Pompei* was the first of his public orations, so far as we know. Cicero probably avoided political speeches, that he might not be compelled to pledge himself too soon to any party in politics.]

[**per aetatem**, 'owing to my youth:' *per* is often used of the hindering or permitting reason; e.g. *per me licet* etc.]

huius auctoritatem loci, 'this place of influence,' which in itself carries a certain weight.

perfectum ingenio, 'finished with all one's powers,' which needs maturity of years; **elaboratum industria**, 'diligently worked out,' which is gained by varied practice. [*Elaborare* always carries with it the notion of *successful* endeavour, which *laborare* does not: see note on de Orat. I. 5, 18.]

[**temporibus**, 'requirements;' chosen as affording a kind of play upon words in its juxtaposition with *tempus*, which is used in its ordinary sense of time. The rhetoricians gave the name of πλοκή to this kind of *traductio*, when '*continenter unum verbum non eadem sententia ponitur.*' (Cic. Orat. § 135).]

§ 2. **ita** refers to the second clause *labor fructum est consecutus*, and the first clause, which is logically subordinate, is made coordinate, in order to secure a regular form for the rhetorical antithesis. Translate: 'so, while this place has never been without men...my exertions.'

[**vestram causam**=*causam rei p.* in § 4.]

caste integreque, 'purely and irreproachably,' i.e. he took no presents contrary to the provisions of the *lex Cincia* [B.C. 204, which forbade advocates to receive any fees], and never allowed himself to be bribed by the other side, to conduct the case of his client badly on purpose (*praevaricatio*).

[**versatus**, a favourite word with Cicero: 'was engaged with:' here we may render 'was confined to.']

propter dilationem comitiorum. Elections were postponed if the omens were reported to be adverse, or a storm came on. [Cassius Dio XXXVI. 39 tells us that the quarrels between the candidates for office in B.C. 67 led to fighting in the streets, which may have been a reason for postponing the election.]

praetor primus, not 'as the first praetor,' for there was no such distinction of rank, but 'first,' 'in the first place,' among the eight who were to be chosen. Cic. received the votes of all the centuries, and was thus the first to receive the necessary majority; but the 'distribution of the voting-tickets' (*diribitio*) for the others was still going on, when the elections were interrupted.

[**auctoritatis.** The fact that the people had chosen Cicero for high office (*honores*) would naturally increase the weight of his personal influence (*auctoritas*).]

vigilanti, 'active, energetic,' opposed to *iners, ignavus*.

[**forensi**, 'in the law-courts,' the courts of law being held sometimes in the open air in the forum, sometimes in the *basilicae* round it.]

utar, 'I will make use of this,' the demonstrative being

easily supplied: cp. Phil. I. 38, *quae potestas si mihi saepius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar.*

[**potissimum**, 'rather than to any one else.']

ei rei, i.e. *dicendi facultati:* **fructum**, i.e. a greater activity, by taking part in debates on public affairs. Cp. Introd. § 36.

§ 3. **Atque**, 'and further:' on the other hand in § 4 *atque* = now.

[**illud**, of what follows, as usually in such cases in Cicero. For the acc. of a neuter pronoun with *laetor* and similar verbs cp. Madvig § 229 a.]

oratio, 'words, language,' but just below, *oratio* = 'subject-matter, theme,' § 29, *oratio par*, 'corresponding (exhaustive) statement,' § 52, § 68, *ista oratio*, 'objection.'

dicendum est: the *propositio* (theme of the speech) according to Cicero's conception: cp. Introd. § 38: [the more formal *propositio* however is given in § 6].

[**singulari**, 'unprecedented' or 'unrivalled.']

virtute, sc. *imperatoria:* all the various excellences, which made Pompeius a perfect general.

c. II. § 4. **Atque ut.** Here begins the *narratio*, the brevity of which is natural enough, where the facts of the case are so well known to the people, as in this instance. Hence he only touches upon those circumstances which were to convince the people still more deeply of the danger of the war, and the need thereby occasioned for extraordinary measures.

[**ducitur**, 'originates.']

vectigalibus is masculine,. 'tributaries,' as we see from its being connected with *bellum infertur* [cp. de Orat. I. § 58]: cp. § 45, *quam facile socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit:* the order of the words however is different there; [but this can hardly affect the interpretation].

sociis, including both the provincials of Asia, and the kings in alliance, [who would have received the title of *socii et amici populi Romani*].

Tigrane. Introd. § 2 and § 17 ff.

relictus, i.e. not completely conquered, a meaning which the context enables us to derive from that of 'left remaining.'

ad occupandam Asiam depends upon the whole phrase *occasionem oblatam esse.* **Asiam**, sc. *provinciam* (Introd. § 1) [consisting at this time of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria and Lydia: cp. Cic. pro Flacc. § 65].

[**occupare**, 'to seize upon, never 'to occupy' except in the sense which this word has in military language, e.g. 'to occupy a hill.']

arbitrantur, as though *qui* not *quorum* had preceded: Tac. Ann. III. 62, *proximi Magnetes L. Scipionis et L. Sullae constitutis nitebantur, quorum ille Antiocho, hic Mithridate pulsis fidem atque virtutem Magnetum decoravere.*

equitibus, i.e. the *publicani*, who had farmed the *vectigalia provinciae Asiae* (*publicum Asiaticum*). For their complaints see Introd. §§ 16, 37. [For the *publicani* see Mommsen, III. 115.]

res, 'property, capital,' here in the plural, because he is speaking of the property of many individuals; cp. § 19 and § 18 *pecunias magnas*. [**aguntur**, 'is at stake.']

exercendis. See note on § 16. **occupatae** ['locked up'] as in § 18, *pecunias collocatas*. [**occupare** always has the notion of an *engrossing* engagement: cp. Caes. B. G. IV. 16.]

necessitudine, Cicero himself being of an equestrian family [i. e. none of his ancestors had held high office or been a senator].

rei publicae, the state being indirectly concerned in the interests of the *publicani*.

§ 5. **vestra provincia**. Introd. § 13.

exustos, 'burnt to ashes,' *ex* giving the idea of completeness.

regnum Ariobarzanis, Cappadocia: Introd. §§ 2—4, 10—12 and esp. § 20 ad fin. The infinitives give the contents of the letters in *oratio obliqua*.

vestris vectigalibus, 'the lands tributary to you,' as § 7 *in vestris vectigalibus versari:* in Verr. II. 7, *quoniam quasi praedia populi Romani sunt vectigalia nostra atque provinciae:* orat. Philippi § 8 (Sall. Hist. fr. I. 51) *Mithridates in latere vectigalium nostrorum, quibus adhuc sustentamur, diem bello circumspicit.*

Lucullum, Introd. § 13 ff. **qui successerit**, ib. § 20.

unum, Introd. n. 105.

sociis et civibus; the *cives* meant are those in Asia; hence *sociis* is placed first, as the determining conception.

§ 6. **Causa**, etc., the formula of transition to the *tractatio:* for the form of the transition cp. § 20. pro Rosc. § 119.

de genere belli, i.e. its necessity: **de magnitudine**, its dangerous character. Introd. § 39.

genus est belli eius modi. We should say rather 'the war is one of a nature which, etc.'

[**quod** refers grammatically to *genus*, but virtually to *bellum:* **in quo** solely to *bellum*.]

[**ad persequendi studium**=*ad bellum studiose persequendum.*]

agitur gloria treats the question from the point of view of honour, **aguntur vectigalia** from that of expediency. Cp. ad Herenn. III. c. 4.

sociorum atque amicorum, *vestrorum* or *populi Romani* being omitted, [the following *vestri* removing all risk of ambiguity], as in Div. in Caec. § 65, *accusavi rogatu sociorum atque amicorum:* in Verr. v. 83.

certissima because of the fruitfulness and prosperity of the province: see § 14. The legal expression, *certum vectigal* (*stipendium*), has a different meaning: this denotes a definite and fixed tribute, such as the majority of the Roman provinces had to pay, while Sicily and Asia were free from *stipendium*, and their main burden consisted in the tithes, the produce of which varied with the amount bid for them by the *publicani:* cp. in Verr. III. 12, *ceteris* (with the exception of Sicily) *impositum vectigal est certum, quod stipendiarium dicitur.*

pacis ornamenta, the means of living in decent comfort in peace: cp. § 14, *pacis dignitatem*, and de Orat. II. 171, *si aerarii copiis et ad belli adiumenta et ad ornamenta pacis utimur, vectigalibus serviamus* [where, however, as perhaps in the text, it is best to take *ornamenta pacis* as referring to the various means of spending the wealth of the state so as to increase the beauty of the city, and to add to the splendour of the national life, e.g. games, public buildings, festivals, and the like].

a vobis: *a* with the ablative must be used to denote the agent with the gerundive of a verb governing the dative.

c. III. § 7. **praeter ceteras,** like the Greek παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, 'before all other:' with a negative 'less than others.'

macula, Introd. § 6 note, § 18 ff. **bello superiore**, 'the last war,' as in § 22, not counting the unimportant war waged by Murena.

insedit, 'has sunk in,' while fresh stains are more easily extracted.

tota in Asia, an unusual order, adapted for the sake of symmetry in the repetition.

significatione, 'intimation given by letter.'

poenam suscepit, a rare expression, as is also *poenas sustulit* in de Nat. Deor. III. § 82.

tertium et vicesimum, Introd. note 12: *regnat,* i.e. he has been left on the throne: his reign had lasted on the whole much longer.

et ita regnat, 'ay, and so reigns,' 51: cp. § 10, '*dicam, et ita dicam.*'

[**neque Cappadociae**, 'nor even C.,' this not being a part of his original kingdom, as Pontus was.]

in vestris vectigalibus, see note on § 5: **in Asiae luce**, 'in the foreground of Asia,' i.e. full in view, opposed to '*Ponti latebris se occultare.*' Cp. Seyffert on Lael. p. 189. As the figure in *latebrae* is borrowed from lands at a distance and out of the way, so *lux* is used of a district which presents itself to the eyes of all, and is open to extensive commerce: we may notice also that the notion of what is bright, friendly, and graceful is attached to the figurative use of *lux.*

§ 8. **ut reportarent**, 'so as to carry off only:' **insignia victoriae**, a periphrasis for triumphs, for the sake of the antithesis *victoriam.*

triumphavit L. Sulla: Introd. § 10: **L. Murena**, ib. § 11 and note 72 ad fin.

ita ut, limiting, as in pro Rosc. Am. § 55, *hoc ita est utile, ut ne plane inludamur ab accusatoribus.*

regnaret, 'remained king.'

egerunt, 'they were active, did do something,' not without a reference to the inactivity of Acilius Glabrio: in this sense *agere* is often used without an object: the absolute use of the one word carries with it also the similar use of *reliquerunt*, 'they left something still to be done.'

res publica, 'the state of public affairs:' Introd. §§ 9, 10 with note 34: **Sulla revocavit**, ib. § 11.

c. IV. § 9. **ad oblivionem**, etc., 'to secure that the old war should be forgotten,' by peaceable and friendly behaviour towards the Romans.

postea quam with the conjunctive is extremely rare: see examples in Nipperdey's note on Tac. Ann. XII. 54, and Em. Hoffmann, 'The Construction of the Latin particles of Time' (2nd ed.), p. 47. [Richter corrects by conjecture *postea, cum,* etc.]. Cic. seems to have used the conjunctive, because the intervening clauses with *postea quam* seem to be at the same time a kind of protasis to *misit:* 'after building and equipping, etc.'

quibuscumque ex gentibus. Introd. note 41.

Bosporanis, i.e. the dwellers by the Cimmerian Bosporus in the modern Crimea. According to Appian (Introd. § 11 with note 37) this took place even before the inroads of Murena: **et**

simularet, 'and had been pretending all the time.' As with the preceding pluperfects of the conjunctive, the construction with *cum* was in the mind of the speaker.

in Hispaniam, Introd. § 12.

diiunctissimis, very distant one from the other; *maxime diversissimis*, situate in very different regions. Cp. § 46.

[**binis,** distributive, because the substantive *copiae* would have been in the plural, even if only one force had been spoken of; so *binae litterae*, *bina castra*, etc.]

[**ancipiti** here literal 'in two places,' so with *proelium* sometimes, e.g. Caes. B. G. VII. 76; more commonly 'undecided.']

de imperio, 'for empire' = *utri imperarent*.

§ 10. **plus firmamenti ac roboris,** 'more support and more strength in itself.' The greater strength is ascribed to the *altera pars*, because it was Pompeius who removed this danger.

virtute, Introd. § 27.

initia illa rerum gestarum, etc. 'those great and brilliant successes at the beginning.' Introd. §§ 13—17. [*initia* is used here to take the place of a lacking adjective for 'initial:' see note above on *auctoritatem loci*, § 1.]

extrema, Introd. §§ 10—20.

fortunae, for the defeat of Triarius happened while Lucullus was at a distance.

alio loco, § 20: **et ita dicam,** see note on § 7. **ut—videatur,** 'so that it will be seen that, etc.' Cp. note on Cat. II. § 28. [The conj. depending upon a future acquires itself a future force.]

§ 11. **de,** 'as to:' so in Cic. especially in transitions, and in connexion with a verb of saying or thinking.

exorsus, not = *exordium*, 'introduction,' but 'first part;' for I have begun my speech with this.

videte quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis. For this common form, which is found as early as a fragment of the orator Gaius Gracchus (*cum a servis eorum tam caste me habuerim, inde poteritis considerare quo modo me putetis cum liberis vestris vixisse*), see §§ 26, 27, 38, 46, pro Rosc. § 153, Zumpt, § 750. But the construction is by no means purely pleonastic, but just as in Latin verbs of thinking are very commonly used where in Greek we should have the optative with ἄν, so is this especially the case in indirect questions depending on a verb of feeling or perceiving. Thus, for instance, in § 26,

coniectum perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum sit would be 'how great that war has become;' while *factum putetis* is 'how great it may (in your view) have become.'

c. v. **mercatoribus**, as in Verr. v. 149, *quot bella maiores nostros et quanta suscepisse arbitramini, quod cives Romani iniuria adfecti, quod navicularii retenti, quod mercatores spoliati dicerentur?*

[**iniuriosius**, 'somewhat insultingly.'] [**vos**: we should insert 'and.']

tot milibus, Introd. note 19 f. [Wherever a long ī is followed by a short ĭ in the next syllable, one *l*, not two, should be written: hence *mille, milia; villa, vilicus*, etc. are the best-established spellings. Cf. Lachmann on Lucr. I. 313.]

appellati superbius, 'addressed somewhat haughtily' at an assembly of the Achaean League, of which Polybius gives the fullest account; he says (Exc. Leg. XXXVIII. 4, 4): 'and when they heard this [the words of the Roman ambassadors] most of them put no manner of restraint upon themselves, but mocking the envoys they drove them out [from the assembly] with noise and shouting.' Other accounts speak even of personal ill-treatment; Florus I. 32, 2, *Critolaus causa belli, qui libertate a Romanis data adversus ipsos usus est legatosque Romanos, dubium an et manu, certe oratione violavit:* and esp. Livii per. LI., *belli Achaici semina referuntur haec, quod legati Romani ab Achaicis pulsati sint Corinthi*, and LII., *qui (L. Mummius) omni Achaia in deditionem accepta Corinthon ex s. c. diruit, quia ibi legati Romani violati erant.* Cp. Mommsen, III. 46 f. Cicero for rhetorical reasons has followed the mildest tradition: he says himself, de Off. I. § 35: *maiores nostri Karthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt; nollem Corinthum, sed credo aliquid secutos, opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari.*

Graeciae lumen: as it is called in a verse quoted by Diodorus: *Κόρινθος ἄστρον οὐκ ἄσημον Ἑλλάδος.* The predicate is constructed with *lumen*, because the figure of the word in apposition is kept up in the verb, as in Verr. I. 153, *communi praesidio talis improbitas tamquam aliquod incendium restinguendum est.* [Brut. § 262, *omni ornatu orationis tanquam veste detracta.* Notice the gender of *Corinthus*].

[**esse** is more commonly omitted with *volo* so used.]

legatum consularem, M'. Aquillius, consul in B.C. 101 with C. Marius: Introd. § 3, and esp. § 5.

illi libertatem—interfectum relinquetis. It has been proposed to strike this out as a mere amplification of the foregoing

antithesis: but cp. Cic. Orat. 137, *sic dicet ille* (*orator*) *quem expetimus, ut verset saepe multis modis eadem et una in re haereat in eademque commoretur sententia.* The rhetoricians name this form of speech *expolitio* or *commoratio:* cp. ad Herenn. IV. § 54, 58.

persecuti sunt = *ulti*, as **relinquetis** = *inultum patiemini.* For *ius legationis* cp. Cic. de Har. Resp. 34, *sic enim sentio, ius legatorum cum hominum praesidio munitum sit, tum etiam divino iure esse vallatum.*

§ 12. **Ariobarzanes**, see on § 5.

cuncta Asia, the preposition *in* is omitted after the analogy of *tota Asia.* Sall. Jug. 79 has the still more unusual construction, *qua tempestate Karthaginienses pleraque Africa imperitabant.* [This construction is extended to *universus* and *omnis* in later writers.]

[**exspectare**, 'to look out eagerly for.']

alium, sc. *atque exspectaverant.* Introd. § 20.

sine summo periculo: for Glabrio and Lucullus, who was still in Asia, might have made them suffer for it. [Weidner proposes *suo:* the two words are often confused: see note on de Orat. I. § 199.]

§ 13. **summa sint omnia**, 'all qualities are united in the highest degree.'

propter, 'close at hand' (cp. § 16 and *filii propter cubantes*, pro Rosc. § 64), on the south coast of Asia Minor. Hence we have the explanation of *praesentem vident* just below.

quo etiam carent aegrius, 'on which account they are all the more grieved to lose his help.'

adventu ipso, 'by his mere arrival,' as in §§ 15, 45.

impetus repressos: the fact that Mithridates, after his defeat of Triarius, did not push on further into Asia Minor is ascribed to the neighbourhood of Pompeius, on the ground that he saw his flank threatened by the army of Pompeius. [Cp. Mommsen, IV. 116.]

ceteros: we should say 'in other cases.'

[**ipsorum** used to mark the antithesis with *hostium.*]

c. VI. § 14. **cum Antiocho**, Mommsen, II. 254, 257, 260 ff. **cum Philippo**, ib. II. 233 ff. **cum Aetolis**, II. 258 ff.

de vectigalibus agatur, 'your revenues are at stake.' Generally the phrase *agitur de aliqua re* is used to mean 'the

question turns upon,' 'a discussion is raised about' [cp. §§ 4, 6 for the more usual expression, *vectigalia*, etc. *aguntur*].

tanta sunt, 'are only just great enough' [cp. *tantum dico*, 'I say no more than this'].

contenti esse, 'be satisfied with,' without having recourse to other sources. [**ad ipsas pr. tutandas**, i.e. to pay the troops required for the defence of the provinces.]

[**Asia vero**, 'while Asia:' *vero* has not its usual intensive force, but = *verum* and marks a contrast.]

ubertate agrorum, of which the tithe was collected, **magnitudine pastionis** which produced the *scriptura* (see below) or rent for pasturage, **rerum quae exportantur**, from which the export duties (*portoria*) were raised. The *varietas fructuum* is brought into especial prominence because the tax upon produce had to be paid not merely upon cereals, but also upon wine, oil, and the *fruges minutae* (esp. beans and peas). [Cp. in Verr. III. 18.]

et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem, a rhetorical periphrasis for *vectigalia quibus et belli utilitas* (service in war) *et pacis dignitas continetur:* see note on § 6. [Note *vēnit.*]

§ 15. **ipse**, cp. above § 13.

pecua, 'stock of cattle:' we should have expected rather *pascua* or *pecuaria res*. [Cp. Servius on Verg. Georg. III. 64.]

scriptura, the name given to the rent for pasturage, because the shepherds had to state in writing to the *publicani* the cattle which they wished to feed on the public pastures (*pascua*, *ager pascuus*). Festus, p. 333, *scripturarius ager publicus appellatur, in quo ut pecora pascantur, certum aes est, quia publicanus scribendo conficit rationem cum pastore.*

§ 16. **qui exercent.** Those who manage them (as their farmers), including all who were members of the *societas Asiatici publici*, or shareholders (*qui partes Asiatici publici habebant*, cp. pro Rab. Post. § 4; Val. Max. VI. 9, 7); **exigunt**, those who undertake the direct raising or collecting of the taxes in the province, i.e. partly members of the *societas*, who looked after their interests in the province in person, partly their *employés* (*familiae*).

in saltibus, 'on the pastures:' cp. Festus, p. 302, *saltus est ubi silvae et pastiones sunt.* Cic. fragm. ex or. de tog. candid. *alter pecore omni vendito et saltibus prope addictis pastores retinet.* [The MSS. have *salinis;* but the reference is evidently

to *scriptura* above, as in *agris* to *decumis* and in *portubus* to *portu*.]

portubus, as in § 55. According to the MSS. Cicero uses both this form and also *portibus:* the latter in Verr. IV. 118, pro Flacco 27, and according to cod. Tegern. also below in § 55.

custodiis, 'coast-guard posts,' which served to prevent goods liable to duty from being brought in and unloaded anywhere but at the emporia, where the custom-houses were. Thus in Attica no goods could be unloaded except in the emporium of the Piraeus.

c. VII. § 17. [**ne illud quidem.** 'This too is not,' etc., a common form of transition to a new subject.]

cum essem dicturus, 'when I began to speak.'

pertinet, sc. *belli genus*, 'that it affects.'

et publicani. Cic. begins with an enumeration [*et*='in the first place'], as though a second clause with *et* were to follow: instead of this, after developing the first at some length, he goes on in a different way with *deinde* in § 18.

ornatissimi, 'well-furnished,' i.e. wealthy, as men of property [cp. Verr. Acc. I. § 127, *hominem ornatissimum loco, ordine, nomine, virtute, ingenio, copiis;* the last is especially in view here].

suas rationes contulerunt] i.e. they have directed their speculations and resources to this province, to secure their *vectigalia.*

[**ipsorum per se**, 'of themselves,' even without regard to the interests of others and of the state.]

[**vectigalia nervos esse rei p.** Cp. our saying, 'money is the sinews of war.']

ceterorum ordinum, the senatorial order, and the third class (the citizens in general), together with those of the *ordo equester* who did not belong to the special *ordo publicanorum.* The following words, **ex ceteris ordinibus**, are to be taken in a narrower sense, 'of other companies or corporations,' like those formed by the merchants, ship-owners (*navicularii*), and exchangers, just as we speak of the merchant-class, etc. [Cp. in Verr. II. 517, *si cuiquam ordini sive aratorum sive pecuariorum sive mercatorum probatus sit.*]

§ 18. **partim eorum**=*alii eorum*, Zumpt, § 271.

pecunias, 'sums of money,' hence *magnas*, not *multas:* cp. Krebs Antibarbarus s. v. *multus*. [Senators were not allowed

to engage in trade themselves, but they often were 'sleeping partners' in the companies of the knights, and held estates abroad. For the political results of this cp. Mommsen, III. 68.]

a re p. seiunctam: cp. de Off. III. 63, *neque enim solum nobis divites esse volumus, sed liberis, propinquis, amicis maximeque rei publicae: singulorum enim facultates et copiae divitiae sunt civitatis.* [The construction is a compressed one for *civium calamitatem a rei p. calamitate seiunctam:* cp. pro Rosc. § 140, *suam causam cum Chrysogono* (i.e *cum causa Chrysogoni*) *communicare.*]

illud parvi refert, 'there is not much in the objection that.' The following words are corrupt: for *publicanis amissis* does not seem to be Latin, and *postea* with the present cannot stand, even if the assertion be regarded as quite confident. Till a better suggestion is made, we may be satisfied with translating the conjectural reading *nos publicanorum bonis* (or *fortunis*) *amissis vectigalia ipsa posse victoria recuperare.* [Eberhard suggests, *rem publicam ipsam illa vectigalia postea victoria recuperare.*]

redimendi, the technical word for bidding for the farming of the *vectigalia* at public auction.

§ 19. **initio belli.** Introd. § 5.

quidem brings into prominence *id*, which we can often do only by a stronger emphasis: **certe** belongs to *calamitate docti* ('made wiser').

amiserant. For plupf. with *cum* cp. in Verr. v. 178, *cum iste vestra severitate permotus multa signa dederat:* for the fact de Leg. Agr. II. 83: *Asia multos annos nobis fructum Mithridatico bello non tulit: Hispaniarum vectigal temporibus Sertorii nullum fuit.*

solutione impedita, 'by the stoppage of payments:' **fidem,** 'credit.' Caes. B. Civ. III. 1, *cum fides tota Italia esset angustior neque creditae pecuniae solverentur.* [Cp. Mommsen, III. 406.]

ut non, 'so as not to,' i. e. 'without,' as again immediately below.

haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, 'our present system of credit and finance.'

in foro, where the *tabernae argentariorum* (the banks) were.

illa, neuter, though referring to the *pecuniae Asiaticae.* Though these are the last-mentioned, they are *locally* the furthest removed.

quare videte, a recapitulation of the first section of the speech, mentioning the four points of view in which the necessity of the war had been established.

incumbere. Cp. Caes. B. G. vii. 76, *ut omnes et animis et opibus in id bellum incumberent.* Dem. Olynth. i. § 6, *φημὶ δεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν.*

fortunae coniunctae cum re p., i.e. the property of citizens, with which the interest of the state is so closely concerned.

c. viii. § 20. **Quoniam**, we should say 'after speaking.' Cic. is fond of *quoniam* in such transitions: cp. pro Rosc. § 119.

de magnitudine. Cp. § 4, *bellum grave et periculosum.* § 27, *bellum magnitudine periculosum.*

belli genus, see note on § 6. [**non esse**, '*but* is not.']

in quo, 'on this point.'

[**ea vobis.** The MSS. read *a vobis*, which was corrected by Buttmann. Cic. not unfrequently uses *a* with the ablative after a gerundive to denote the agent, but only when the personal agency is to be brought into prominence, or when the gerundive governs a dative: cp. § 34, *a me praetereunda non sunt.*]

Lucullo. The digression in praise of Lucullus is introduced here, that it may not be assumed from Cic.'s demonstration of the greatness and danger of the war, that he is desirous of disparaging his military services. The eulogy had to be brought in before the second part of the *tractatio*, because it would have found less credence if placed further on: here it at once excites the desire of the hearers to learn how it can have happened that in spite of the successes achieved there is still so much to be done before the war is completely settled.

dico, 'I assert,' stronger than our 'say.'

eius adventu, 'at the time of his arrival:' cp. Caes. B. G. v. 54, *cuius frater adventu Caesaris in Galliam regnum obtinuerat.*

maximas Mithridatis copias. Introd. note 42.

instructas fuisse would have been in the indicative *instructae erant:* on the other hand **obsessam esse** = *obsidebatur.*

Asiae clarissimam. Florus, i. 40. 15, *Cyzicus, nobilis civitas, arce, moenibus, portu turribusque marmoreis Asiaticae plagae litora inlustrat.* Introd. note 45 f.

§ 21. **classem.** Introd. § 14, and note 47.

studio, 'with party-spirit,' 'the rage of party-feeling.'

clausus, pro Arch. § 21, *Pontum et regiis quondam opibus et ipsa natura et regione vallatum.*

Sinōpen atque Amīsum. Introd. note 49. **domicilia**: the proper capital of Mithridates was Sinope, his birthplace.

permultas belongs not merely to *Cappadociae*, but is an additional epithet of *ceteras urbes*, 'in great numbers:' § 22, *maximam vim...omnem reliquit;* de Inv. II. c. 1, *is et ceteras complures tabulas pinxit.*

ad alios reges, to Tigranes and Machares (Introd. § 15), and afterwards also with Tigranes to the Parthian Arsăces.

ad alias gentes. Florus, I. 40. 21, *itaque conversus ad proximas gentes totum paene orientem ac septemtrionem ruina sua involvit. Hiberi, Caspii, Albani et utraeque sollicitantur Armeniae.*

[**salvis p. R. sociis**, i.e. without ruining the provincials by forced contributions and requisitions, as both had done.]

atque ita, and indeed in such a degree, so richly bestowed. But as this expression seems somewhat harsh, it is possible that after *ita* a participle, as for instance *dicta* or *tributa*, has been lost. [Eberhard corrects *haec esse* into *concessi*, which is understood again after *ita*.]

[**obtrectant** is a somewhat invidious expression for 'oppose.']

c. IX. § 22. [**Requiretur**, a form of the *occupatio*, i.e. the anticipation of a possible objection.]

[**magnum**, emphatic from its position.]

fratris sui, Absyrtus [Ov. Trist. III. 9. 6: in Greek, Ἄψυρτος: so *absis* for ἀψίς, our 'apse'].

parens, Aeetes: **in eis locis qua**, as in pro Caec. 21, *ad omnes introitus, qua adiri poterat*, 42, *locum se qua effugerent demonstrasse:* below, § 44, *oram quo pervaserit.*

[**se**: used because the speaker for the moment is putting himself into the place of Medea: hence also the subjunctive.]

dispersa, i.e. at different places: cp. [Caes.] de B. Gall. VIII. 7. 7, *pabulatione, quae propter anni tempus cum exigua tum disiecta esset*, and Nägelsb. Stil. § 30, 1.

sic Mithridates. Introd. note 50.

bello superiore, see note on § 7.

[**colligunt.** Notice the pres. ind. after *dum*, though *effŭgit* is perf.]

[**diligentius**, a milder expression for *avide.*]

§ 23. **excepit.** Introd. § 17.

plures gentes, Plut. Luc. c. 26.

lacessere bello, by war, i.e. by commencing hostilities to provoke and challenge to fight: on the other hand *temptare aliquem* (which is not to be connected with *bello*) is 'to come too near anyone,' to try how far they will stand unfair treatment, for which a warlike demonstration is not necessary. [For the reluctance of the senate to interfere in Asia Minor, cp. Mommsen, iv. 49.]

alia opinio: to the excitement of the political suspicion (*metus iniectus*) that the subjugation of the various tribes is intended, Cicero opposes the religious suspicion, *gravis et vehemens opinio*, 'a deep and violent suspicion' (exciting fanaticism).

animos pervaserat: but in § 44, *oram quo* (=*in quam*) *pervaserit*. Cp. also pro Sulla, 53, *quas in oras morbus illius furoris pervaserat:* in Verr. v. 6, *nulla pars eius belli in Italiam pervasit,* and notice the different force of these various constructions.

fani, 'of the Persian Nanaea or Anaitis in Elymais or the modern Luristan, the most celebrated and richest shrine in the whole region of the Euphrates.' Mommsen, iv. 67 [cp. his note there].

urbem ex Tigranis regno. Cic. uses this expression, not merely to avoid the two genitives *Tigranis regni*, but to bring into prominence the isolated character of the capture of this one town [and thus to minimize the successes of Lucullus].

nimia longinquitate. The orator says nothing of the main reason, the mutiny of the army (Introd. § 18), to spare the honour of the Roman name.

§ 24. **et eorum**] If the reading is sound here, *eorum* depends upon the following *auxiliis*, if no ablative, as e.g. *copiis*, has fallen out. Others reject the clause *et eorum... collegerant* as an interpolation.

fortunae. The plural, because the fortunes of several kings are spoken of; [we have the word used in the plural of the good fortune of *one* in Ter. Andr. i. 1. 69, *tum uno ore omnes omnia bona dicere et laudare fortunas meas*, and in Tusc. Disp. v. § 115, *eiusque laudare fortunas*, but this is rare].

multorum opes adliciant ad misericordiam. The connexion of the material *opes* with *misericordia*, which assumes a feeling, is awkward: hence translate 'moves many men of power to pity.'

ut, so that: whence we may assume that —. **Sanctum**, cp. Sall. Hist. fr. v. 1, *adeo illis ingenita est sanctitas regii nominis* [where Sallust seems to be speaking of Mithridates: cp. Kritz's note].

[**nomen regale**, 'the name of king. Cp. Brut. 53, *e civitate regalis nominis memoriam tollere*.]

§ 25. **numquam est ausus.** We should ordinarily use the conditional form in such cases, 'never would have dared' [cp. *nunquam putavi*, pro Sest. 22].

umquam is added in consequence of the parenthetic clause *quod ei praeter spem acciderat*.

impetum fecit. Introd. § 19.

poetae, especially perhaps Cn. Naevius [240—202], who wrote a poem on the First Punic War in Saturnian verse, and Q. Ennius [239—170], whose *Annales* contained an account in hexameters of the history of the city from its foundation down to his own time.

non ex proelio nuntius, i.e. Lucullus, who was advancing from the opposite direction, heard the first news of the defeat of Triarius from natives, not from messengers. Introd. § 19.

§ 26. [**belli offensione**, in a passive sense, 'military blow, as below, § 28.]

vetere exemplo. The laws against the prolongation of a command had long fallen into disuse, and were about to be neglected again in the case of Pompeius. The true reason of the recall of Lucullus, the intrigues of his enemies in the army and at Rome, is passed over in silence.

confectis=*emeritis* ['who had served all their time,' an abl. of quality]: but others read *confecti*, i.e. 'exhausted.'

dimisit. Introd. note 61.

coniectura perspicite, i.e. see through completely by further deductions from the intimations given by me: cp. in Verr. v. 64, *quid eius sit, vos coniectura adsequi debetis*. By the introduction of *ea* the clause *quantum* etc. is made to assume the character of an explanatory addition, 'viz. how great, &c.'

quantum. Introd. note 108: **factum putetis**, see note on § 11. The following words contain the recapitulation of the second part of the *argumentatio*.

coniungant, 'undertake in common.'

imperator noster, 'sent by us, not 'our general,' as in §§ 46, 64.

satis multa, etc. Cp. for the first two portions of the demonstration Introd. § 39: **esset**, Zumpt, § 515.

c. x. § 27. **innocentium.** Cp. §§ 36, 39.

quemnam praeficiendum putaretis for *quisnam praeficiendus esset*, to get a fuller ending to the period, as § 46, *valituram esse existimetis.*

antiquitatis memoriam, 'the past which still lives in our memory.' [Cp. Cic. de Orat. I. § 256.]

§ 28. **quattuor has res**: an example of a *thesis:* see Cic. Orat. 46, pro Rosc. 62 ff. Gabinius in his rogation, according to the account of Cassius Dio XXXVI. 10, had already recommended Pompeius, on the ground of these same advantages: hence we must assume that Dio, in the speech which he puts into the mouth of Gabinius, makes use of this speech of Cicero's. This interesting passage is also instructive for the true idea of *virtus*, for which Dio says: δεῖ φῦναι πρὸς αὐτὸ (τὸ στρατηγεῖν) εὐφυῶς. For by *virtus* Cic. understands the proper endowment for a general, the range of all those capacities which contribute to form a general of the first rank (*summum*). [**Scientior**, i. e. *rei militaris*, like *scientiam* at the end of this chapter.]

pueritiae disciplinis, 'the training of boyhood.' For the plural see Nägelsb. Stil. § 12, 1.

bello maximo. Introd. § 22, note 63.

extrema pueritia. Introd. note 64.

exercitus imperator. Introd. § 23.

concertavit, especially in a law-court.

confecit, 'utterly reduced.'

non alienis praeceptis, as Marius boasts of himself in Sall. Jug. 85, *comparate nunc cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quae illi audire et legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi: quae illi litteris, ea egomet militando didici.* [Perhaps there is an invidious reference to Lucullus: cp. Acad. II. 2: *itaque cum totum iter et navigationem consumpsisset partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis, in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis*, where however Mr Reid justly notes 'Cicero forgets that Luc. had served with distinction in the Social War and the First Mithridatic War.']

suis imperiis, with a reference to the theatrical part which Pompeius played as consul in B.C. 70, when he led the horse supplied him by the state (*equus publicus*), which he had previously had as a knight, before the censors L. Gellius Pop-

licola and Cn. Lentulus Clodianus, and to the usual question as to the campaigns which he had served ('I ask you, Pompeius Magnus, whether you have served all the campaigns required by the law?' Plut. Pomp. 22), returned the vain answer: 'I have served them all, and all under my own supreme command.'

offensionibus, 'defeats, blows:' cp. above, § 26.

fortuna rei p. The unhappy condition of the state, which was engaged in so many serious wars.

civile, against Cinna (Introd. § 22), Carbo (§ 24), and Lepidus (§ 26): **Africanum**, Introd. § 24: **Transalpinum**, Introd. note 78: **Hispaniense**, § 27.

mixtum, etc. The bracketed words are bad Latin [whence some read *civibus* for *civitatibus*] and spoil the neatness of the structure: hence they are evidently spurious.

servile. Introd. § 28: **navale**, § 32.

diversa genera et bellorum et hostium. The division is not logically exact: it ought properly to have been, *genera bellorum, diversa et ratione gerendi* (war by land and sea, open and guerilla warfare) *et genere hostium.* [Or we may take *diversa* as 'far distant from each other,' and as referring logically only to *bella.*]

esse, 'that there is.' The position of the words shows that we must not join *esse positum:* in the same way in § 44 *an vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis.*

c. XI. § 29. [**Iam vero**, used to denote a transition to something of still more importance, 'but further.']

oratio par, as in Orat. § 123, *erit igitur rebus ipsis par et aequalis oratio.* Cp. note on § 3.

illae sunt, etc., i.e. *illae virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgo existimantur* (i.e. are regarded as such) *non sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae.* This ought to be followed by *sed aliae sunt praeterea*, but this idea is not expressed until § 36, and then it is put in a different way. *Virtutes* here denotes 'good qualities, advantages:' the sum of them is the *virtus imperatoria*, for which see § 28. The *virtutes vulgares* make up the *bellandi virtus* (§ 36), which of itself cannot constitute a perfect *imperator.*

labor, 'energy, energetic activity:' see § 40 and Phil. VIII. 31: *huius industriam maxime quidem vellem ut imitarentur ii quos oportebat, secundo autem loco, ne alterius labori inviderent.*

§ 30. **Italia.** Introd. § 23. This war brought him experience, but was not likely to bring him much popularity, at any rate with the people at large.

Sicilia. Introd. § 24.

explicavit. For the figurative expression see Verr. v. 151, *si ex his te laqueis exueris, in illas tibi maiores plagas incidendum est.*

Africa. Introd. § 24; **Gallia**, ib. note 78.

Hispania. Introd. § 27.

servili bello. Introd. § 28. [**taetro**: this is a better spelling than *tetro*.]

expetivit. Introd. note 81: **attenuatum**, weakened (morally).

§ 31. **nunc vero iam**, 'now indeed by this time.'

[**gentes ac nationes**, 'nations and tribes:' the *natio* is a subdivision of the *gens*.]

[**universa**, 'as wholes,' i.e. in all their length and breadth.]

[**hieme.** Navigation generally ceased on the Mediterranean during the winter: cp. Vegetius de Re Mil. IV. 39, *ex die igitur tertio iduum Novembris, usque in diem sextum iduum Martiarum clauduntur*, and see Acts xxvii. 9, Hor. Od. I. 4. 2.]

referto praedonum, Zumpt, § 462: on the other hand, § 55, *referta divitiis*, which is the usual construction in connexion with things.

[**cum...navigaret**, 'as he had to sail:' so below *redempti sint* 'had to be ransomed.']

turpe, § 33: **vetus**, Introd. § 30.

ab omnibus imperatoribus, i.e. the Roman commanders of that time: **omnibus annis**, viz., all the years of their lives. This figure of speech—not very happily employed here—is used by Cic. also in § 67, and is called *commutatio*, see ad Herenn. IV. § 39: *commutatio est, cum duae sententiae inter se discrepantes ex transiectione ita efferuntur, ut a priori posterior contraria priori proficiscatur hoc modo: 'esse oportet ut vivas, non vivere ut edas.'* The thought was probably suggested to the orator by the sentiment which Catulus expressed (according to Dio, XXXVI. 18) in opposing the *lex Gabinia*: 'I beg you also to consider this, that it is not possible for one single man to have command of the whole sea, and to direct aright the whole of this war.'

§ 32. **existimatis.** We should more naturally say 'how many islands must not have been deserted, etc.' Cp. pro Rosc. 133, *quid praeterea caelati argenti...apud illum putatis esse?*

[**quam multas urbes.** Plutarch, Pomp. 24, says 'the ships of the pirates numbered more than a thousand, the towns captured by them four hundred.']

c. xii. **fuit.** Notice the perfect: *erat* could not be used here.

proprium, 'characteristic,' its special prerogative.

propugnaculis imperii, i. e. armies and fleets [in Verr. iii. § 186, *classis pulcherrima, Siciliae praesidium propugnaculumque provinciae*].

vestri, though *nostris* has just preceded, in order to make the disgrace which had been suffered come more home to the people, by pointing out that it was armies sent out by them which had been so hampered in their movements.

summa hieme. Dio, xxxvi. 4, 'they plundered and carried off first of all and especially voyagers; for they did not leave them in safety even during the winter.'

venirent, as envoys, [the tense being in sequence to *captos*, while *redempti sint* is not in a dependent clause].

legati: 'Legatum quendam oppressum a piratis pretio uxor liberavit,' Schol. In the want of any other authorities for this story it is uncertain whether it is based upon any ancient record; and also whether the plural is to be taken literally, or is merely rhetorical, like *liberos*, § 33.

duodecim secures. Metonymically for 'two praetors.' A praetor had in Rome (after the *lex Plaetoria*) as a sign of his *imperium* two lictors, in the provinces six, hence *ἑξαπέλεκυς ἀρχή*. For the fact cp. Plut. Pomp. 24, 'Once too they seized two praetors, Sextilius and Vellinus, in their bordered robes of office, along with their attendants and lictors, and carried them off with them.'

§ 33. **Cnidum** etc. Plut. l.c.: 'And of the sacred temples of the gods never violated before they fell upon and destroyed those of Claros (near Colophon), of Didyma, and of Samothrace ...and those of Juno at Samos, at Argos and at Lacinium.' Appian (Mithr. 63) says that Samos was plundered by the pirates while Sulla was in Asia.

quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis, as the harbours, into which the corn imported from Sardinia, Sicily, Africa, and Egypt was brought. [For the dependence of the city of Rome upon imported corn see Merivale, Hist. of the Romans, vol. iv. p. 391.]

celeberrimum, 'much frequented' [as almost always in Cic.].

praetore, who had probably received an extraordinary commission to protect the coast. His name is unknown.

liberos. Plut. Pomp. 24, 'they captured also a daughter of Antonius, a man who had enjoyed a triumph, when taking a

journey into the country; and she was ransomed for a large sum.' The plural is therefore rhetorical: see on pro Rosc. § 96 *Cum Ameriae Sex. Roscii domus, uxor liberique essent*, where only one child is intended. If the notice of his triumph is correct, we must understand the orator M. Antonius, who fought against the pirates in 103 and enjoyed a triumph over them in 102, and not his son M. Antonius Creticus, for whom see Introd. § 30.

[**nam quid ego**, etc. By this phrase of *praeteritio* (where we may understand some phrase like *haec erunt satis*) Cic. is accustomed to bring some fact into especial prominence: cp. de Orat. I. 17, *nam quid ego de actione ipsa dicam?*]

Ostiense. Dio XXXVI. 5 (22 Bekk.) 'as they succeeded in this, they proceeded to land on the mainland and give much annoyance even to those who had nothing to do with the sea. And this they did not merely to the foreign allies, but even to Italy itself... Among other towns into which they sailed was Ostia, where they burnt the ships and plundered everything.' Cicero does not mention the name of the consul (which is unknown to us) in order not to recall the shameful memory with too much vividness.

cum. 'At the time when.'

[**prope inspectantibus vobis.** Ostia was about 16 miles from Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber.]

hominis, not *viri*, because a *divina virtus* is ascribed to him; [but we often have *homo* accompanying words of praise, without any such notion of antithesis, e.g. §§ 28, 39, 46, 47, 48, 62, 63].

lucem. A common metaphor for happiness and welfare, § 41, Soph. Aj. 392, *ἰὼ σκότος, ἐμὸν φάος.*

Oceani ostium, i.e. the *Gaditanum fretum*, 'qua primum maris nostri limen aperitur' (Florus I. 40, 9), a term used for the sake of the antithesis with *ostium Tiberinum.*

§ 34. **praetereunda non sunt.** A not uncommon form of attraction for *praetereundum non est*, as de Leg. Agr. II. § 102: *quae nobis designatis timebatis, ea ne accidere possent consilio meo...provisa sunt.*

[**a me.** See note on § 6 above.]

tam brevi tempore quam celeriter. A looser form of comparison for *tam celeriter quam.*

tanti belli impetus. Figurative for 'an attacking fleet of such force,' which cannot on account of the hindrances to be overcome sail so fast as a lightly-equipped private vessel. The bold personification *belli impetus* forms the antithesis to *quis:* Cic. means the whole widely-extended storm of war, which, even

where Pompeius was not personally present, was guided by his plans for the campaign.

Siciliam adiit, etc. All of which were done at the same time by the *legati* of Pompeius: see Flor. I. 41. 9, *Gellius Tusco mari impositus*, *Plotius Siculo*, *etc.*

[**frumentaria subsidia.** See above on § 33. Cato the Elder called Sicily '*cellam penariam rei p. nostrae*, *nutricem plebis Romanae.*]

§ 35. **Gallia transalpina**: the southern part of which had been a Roman province since B.C. 122. Florus I. 49, 9, *Atilius* (as the *legatus* of Pompeius) *Ligusticum sinum*, *Pomponius Gallicum obsedit.* The clearing of the *Ligusticus sinus* is intimated in the words *Italiae duo maria adornavit.*

confirmata. For the singular, which here makes the structure clearer, cp. pro Sulla 62: *at enim et gladiatores et omnis ista vis comparabatur.*

Achaiam omnemque Graeciam. Cicero uses this expression, because the name Achaia, which often embraces only the Peloponnesus, had not yet come to be generally current for all Greece; for the *provincia Achaia* was not formally constituted immediately after Greece fell into the hands of Rome in 146: cp. Mommsen Hist. III. p. 50. Hence we often find in writings of this date *Graecia* and *Achaia* mentioned side by side, as in Pis. 37 *lege ea omnis erat tibi Achaia*, *Thessalia*, *Athenae*, *cuncta Graecia addicta.*

[**ubique** is only used in classical prose in connexion with a relative or interrogative. It has a distributive, *omnibus locis* a collective force.]

capti. Introd. note 91.

Cretensibus. Introd. § 33. **usque in Pamphyliam**: Cic. exaggerates the distance, which was not great except from the standpoint of his hearers; but by a rhetorical trick he substitutes this for the Cretans' point of view. In § 46 *Cretensium legati ad Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt* the hyperbole is still stronger.

legatos deprecatoresque = *ad deprecandum*, as in pro Flacco § 100 *provinciae*, *quae pro huius periculis legatos laudatoresque misit.* Cp. pro Rosc. § 8, *per sententias iusque iurandum*, i. e. 'by your votes given upon oath,' § 9 *natura pudorque* 'natural modesty,' § 123 *vestris ingeniis coniecturaeque committo.* These passages [like Vergil's *pateris libamus et auro*] show that in the so-called hendiadys the first member always gives a complete sense by itself, and a second, also quite able to stand alone, is added for the sake of closer specification.

spem dedit. non ademit, i.e. he gave them a hope that they might submit themselves to him, and reckon upon his protection, cp. § 46.

c. XIII. § 36. **ceterae.** The moral and intellectual *virtutes*, opposed to those which were specifically military.

commemorare coeperam, § 29, where the words *neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae* hint at the *ceterae*.

artes [=qualities, *virtutes*, Hor. Od. III. 3. 9 *hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules enisus arces attigit igneas:* so Sallust often.] Curt. III. 6, 20, *quibus ille* (Alexander) *vel ingenii dotibus vel animi artibus, ut pariter carus ac venerandus esset, effecerat.*

[**administrae comitesque.** Cp. in Cat. I. 7.]

ingenio. See § 42.

[**quae**, neuter, as referring to the qualities of different genders, just mentioned.]

[**ex aliorum contentione.** 'By comparison with others,' cp. de Off. I. 58, *si contentio quaedam et comparatio fiat. Contentio* is (1) a stretching thoroughly, i.e. exertion; (2) a stretching along with, i.e. comparison.]

§ 37. **ullo in numero putare**, 'count as such at all' (even in the lowest class), i.e. allow to be such at all. [Brut. 117, *nullo in oratorum numero sed vita severus.*]

[**veneant atque venierint.** We should more naturally invert the order, 'have been sold, and still are sold'.]

quid.. magnum de re p. cogitare. 'What high thoughts for the welfare of the state (can he) have;' as in Cat. III. 5, *qui omnia de re p. praeclara atque egregia sentirent.*

cogitare, sc. *putare possumus*, a deviation in the use of *putare* which has a different force just above, which need not surprise us in a speech intended for an audience, not for readers. Cp. in Verr. v. 23, *insimulatio est repentina capitalis ...criminis: statuite quanti hoc putatis* (estimate) *et quam multos redemisse.*

provinciae, not *accipiendae* but *retinendae*, to which the magistrates of most influence with the senate and people would help him.

in quaestu, i.e. leaving it invested at interest at Rome: in Pis. 86, *nonne HS centiens et octogiens, ex aerario tibi attributum, Romae in quaestu reliquisti?*

[**admurmuratio.** Here 'murmur of assent,' but not so always. *ad* does not necessarily denote approval.]

[**ferant**, 'bring,' not 'bear,' cp. Dio XXXVI. 23, 'they sent out fleets and armies...but they effected nothing, and only distressed the allies much more by means of these'.]

§ 38. **Itinera** [placed before the dependent interrogative *quae* to bring it into prominence, cp. *causa quae sit* § 6]: cp. Cic. ep. ad Q. fr. I. 1, 33, *non ignoro, quid sociis accidat in ultimis terris, cum audierim in Italia querellas civium.* There is an interesting passage illustrating this in Livy XLII. 1 § 7 ff.

[**civium Romanorum**. The Italians had received the Roman franchise after the Marsian War of B.C. 90—88.]

fecerint. Notice how *fecerunt* would have altered the meaning of the passage. **recordamini**: **tum**, see note on Cat. I. § 8.

statuetis. 'You will determine, measure,' like *constituere* § 46: **existimetis**, see note on § 11.

hibernis. A burden from which the towns often purchased exemption with large sums of money (cp. ad Att. v. 21, 7), and this concession gave the governor of a province great opportunities for exactions. An immunity from furnishing winter-quarters was one of the privileges of the *civitates liberae* in the provinces.

§ 39. **non modo**. Madvig § 461 b. [in Cat. I. 25.]

manus...vestigium, i.e. they have not merely kept themselves free from plunderings and extortions, but they have not even done any damage to the countries, through which their way lay, by their march.

hiemis. 'From the winter,' as in pro Caec. § 100, *exilium non supplicium est, sed perfugium portusque supplicii.*

avaritiae. 'For avarice,' where avarice can take refuge, pro Sull. § 79, *obstruite perfugia improborum.* There is the same change from the objective to the subjective genitive in Homer Il. IV. 137, *μίτρης θ' ἣν ἐφόρει ἔρυμα χροός, ἕρκος ἀκόντων.* [So in Cat. II. § 3, *non modo invidiae meae* (*subeundae*), *verum etiam vitae* (*amittendae*) *periculo.*]

c. XIV. § 40. **Age**. In vivid transition [always thus in the singular, even when addressed to an audience] like *quid?* (§§ 12, 36).

vero, which lays stress upon something as of still more importance, here belongs to *ceterae*, as in § 46 to *illa res*.

[**qua ille**. Halm's emendation for *quali* of the MSS. Cp. § 34 ad fin.]

incredibilem cursum. 'Inconceivable rapidity.' Cp. pro Rosc. § 97, *quid hic incredibilis cursus, quid haec tanta celeritas festinatioque significat.*'

inventum. 'Attained,' from the primary notion of *invenire* 'to come upon,' hence 'acquire:' cp. pro Sull. § 83, *memoria per me inventae salutis.* Tusc. D. IV. 49, *Torquatum illum, qui hoc cognomen invenit*, i.e. acquired.

[**amoenitas.** In classical prose always of natural beauty of position, scenery, etc.]

nobilitas urbis, perhaps with reference to the fact mentioned by Plut. Pomp. 27, 'though pressed for time and hurrying past other cities, he still did not pass by Athens, but landed and went up to the city; but after sacrificing to the gods and addressing the people he went away at once.'

labor. See note on § 29.

[**ea.** Redundant, but resuming *signa*, etc., after the relative clause.]

§ 41. **de caelo delapsum.** As a messenger from heaven, an envoy of the gods. The descent of the gods to earth was often denoted by *delabi:* as Ovid Met. I. 212 says of Juppiter, *summo delabor Olympo, et deus humana lustro sub imagine terras.* [So Cic. writes to his brother Quintus (ad Q. fratr. I. 1, 7), that if he follows his advice the Greeks will think '*quendam ex annalium memoria aut etiam de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum.*']

fuisse. 'That there really were,' as is shown by the position of *fuisse :* cp. § 47, *fuit enim profecto, etc.* We might have expected *quondam* to go with *fuisse*; but Cic. prefers to connect it more closely with *hac continentia* in the sense of 'who once showed this self-control.' **hac**, which we have now lived to see.

quod iam videbatur. 'Which was by degrees beginning to appear.'

splendor. We might express this by means of a stronger metaphor: the sun of your empire has now begun to shed its beneficent rays over the nations.

§ 42. **liberae**, 'unhindered.'

principibus excellit, so above § 39, *excellere ceteris*, Tusc. D. II. 43, *ceteris excellebat;* it is more common to find the construction *inter* (*super*) *ceteros excellere.*

[**facilitate**, 'easiness of access:' cp. Plut. Pomp. 1, 'his affability in conversation and address, insomuch that no man ever asked a favour with less offence, or conferred one with a better grace.']

consilio, 'statesmanlike insight:' **dicendi gravitate et copia**, cp. the judgment of Cicero (Brut. 239) on Pompeius as an orator: *Cn. Pompeius maiorem dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum maioris gloriae cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. Erat oratione satis amplus, rem prudenter videbat, actio vero eius habebat et in voce magnum splendorum et in motu summam dignitatem.*

ipso, 'in and by itself.'

hostes omnium generum, § 28. **sanctissimam**, 'absolutely inviolate.'

humanitate. Placed at the beginning for the sake of antithesis with *fidem*; hence *iam* is obliged to be put out of its usual position. For the fact cp. Dio XXXVI. 20, 'he showed great humanity, moreover, towards those who came to terms with him, so that by this conduct he gained over very many; for those who were worsted by his power were very willing to make trial of his goodness, and thus they came over to him most readily.'

et, 'and after this,' 'and still:' the Greek *εἶτα* §§ 45, 55.

[**quisquam** and **quin** are used because the rhetorical question has a virtually negative force.]

c. XV. § 43. **ea re**, 'in this respect, i.e. *auctoritate*. **plurimum possit**, the very reason why Pompeius seemed so dangerous to the opponents of this law.

[**vehementer.** We should say 'very closely,' or 'very greatly.']

ut aut, etc. *aut contemnant aut metuant* refers to *hostes*, *aut oderint aut ament* to *socii*. The passage shows clearly the proper meaning of *contemnere = non metuere*, *καταφρονεῖν*; cp. div. in Caec. § 23, *nunc tantum id dicam...nullam rem in me esse, quam ille contemnat, nullam in te, quam pertimescat.*

iudicia, by the *honores* and *imperia* conferred by various elections.

§ 44. **esse desertam.** See note on § 28.

quo pervaserit. See note on § 23: **illius diei**, i.e. when the Gabinian law was brought in.

[**templis**, i.e. especially the steps of the temples of Vesta and Castor on the Palatine, and of Saturn and Concordia on the *clivus Capitolinus*.]

commune, 'affecting...in common. Introd. note 85.

ut plura non dicam, 'to say no more,' [similarly followed

by *neque* in Verr. III. § 115, *ut hoc tempore ea...praetermittam, neque eos appellem*], literally, 'so as not to,' the *ut* denoting result, not purpose; hence we have in Verr. IV. 45, *ut non conferam vitam neque existimationem tuam cum illius. ne dicam* has quite a different force, and implies that a man would be afraid that he was saying too much if he said so and so, hence, it almost=*prope dixerim.* Cp. Halm's note on pro Milone § 33.

[**qui quo die**, 'for on the day on which he,' etc.]

vilitas annonae. Introd. note 89.

unius hominis spe ac nomine, 'from our hope in this one man and from his name.' *hominis* is an objective genitive to *spe*, a possessive genitive to *nomine:* as in § 29 (*hiemis...avaritiae perfugium*) there were two genitives of different characters dependent upon one substantive, so here there is one genitive dependent upon two substantives, with a different relation in each case.

§ 45. **ex eo proelio.** Introd. § 19 ad fin. **admonui** § 25.

ad ipsum discrimen eius temporis. 'At the decisive moment of that critical time.' Cic. ad Fam. II. 7, 2, *iudicio tuo, non casu, in ipsum discrimen rerum contulisti tribunatum tuum.* [*ad tempus non venit.* Sall. Iug. 70, 5].

ad eas regiones, 'into the neighbourhood of those regions.'

continuit. See note on § 13.

§ 46. **Age vero.** See § 40.

declarat auctoritatem. Cic. here, in accordance with his purpose, ascribes to the influence of the character of Pompeius what had happened for other reasons.

diversis, § 8. [**huic se uni**: for Cicero's tendency to bring pronouns together, see note on Cic. Cat. I. 3, 6.]

noster imperator, § 26.

in ultimas terras. See note on § 35.

ad eundem Cn. Pompeium, 'not to Metellus Pius, the other general in the war with Sertorius, for his reputation was much less. In order to oblige the people and their favourite, Cic. is never weary of attacking the leading men in Rome, which afterwards bore bitter fruits for him. The fact itself is invented or at any rate misrepresented. According to all other authorities Mithridates negotiated with Sertorius, not with Pompeius: the utmost we can concede is that Pompeius caught a spy of the king in his camp, and in his vanity believed his story that he had a commission for him.' Drumann.

[**eum** and **Pompeius legatum semper iudicavit** are bracketed by Eberhard as a gloss, which impairs the sense and structure of the sentence.]

molestum, 'vexatious, annoying,' [**quibus**, especially Q. Metellus Pius].

[**ad eum potissimum**, 'to him rather than to anyone else'.]

constituere, see note on § 38, and on § 11.

§ 47. **praestare**, 'guarantee,' so in §§ 55 and 70.

[**aequum est homines** sc. dicere], **de potestate**, 'a matter within the power of' = *de re quae penes deos est.*

Maximo, i. e. Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator.

Marcello, M. Claudius Marcellus, called the sword of Rome, like Maximus, five times consul.

Scipioni, probably P. Scipio Aemilianus, see § 60.

et ceteris, *et* might have been omitted, according to the rule that *et* and *ac* in sentences of three or more clauses, when the preceding clauses are without the copula, are not used in the last: but *et* may be inserted when the last clause with *ceteri* (*reliqui*) is a general one: for we have thus two series, the single clauses which are not connected by any conjunction, and the last general clause to conclude with: [cp. de Orat. II. 46].

fuit, see note on § 41.

de huius, etc. See note on § 10.

ut videamur, 'that it may be seen,' 'that it may be said of us,' often the best translation for *videri*, cp. § 68. The change of number and person is intended to represent the other supporters of the law as included. [**non ut**, the more usual order, where we might have expected *ut non.*]

[**aut invisa**, 'on the one hand displeasing,' i. e. *si dicam:* **aut ingrata**, 'or on the other hand ungrateful,' if I do not call to mind the favours already shown which warrant us in forming hopes for the future.]

§ 48. **non sum praedicaturus**, a form of *praeteritio.* '*cum dicimus nos praeterire aut non scire aut nolle dicere id quod nunc maxime dicimus*' ad Herenn. IV. 37. Cp. § 60.

domi militiae, terra marique, two clauses, one without the conjunction, the other with it: so in Cic. de Nat. Deor. II. 84, *naturis* (elements) *his, ex quibus omnia constant, sursum deorsum, ultro citroque commeantibus* etc. (cp. Nägelsb. Stil. § 173, 2 *a*):

on the other hand Sall. Cat. 53, 2 has *quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra praeclara facinora fecit.*

adsenserint. The active form is only used by Cicero in the perfect tenses, [but cp. my note on de Orat. I. 9, 35]. The figure of speech by which each clause, instead of having a common predicate has its own distinctive predicate, is called *diiunctio* or *diiunctum:* cp. pro Arch. § 12, ad Herenn. IV. 37 [de Orat. III. 54, 207].

oboedire is the correct spelling, according to the derivation of the word from *audire.*

hoc, 'just this,' and no more.

tacitus, added because many will cherish in silence wishes which they would not venture to express aloud. Hence the rule of Pythagoras: *μετὰ φωνῆς εὔχεσθαι.* [Cp. Hor. Ep. I. 16, 59—62:

> 'Iane pater' clare, clare cum dixit 'Apollo'
> Labra movet metuens audiri: 'Pulchra Laverna,
> Da mihi fallere, da iusto sanctoque videri,
> Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus obice nubem.']

quod ut proprium ac perpetuum sit, 'that it may be his assured and lasting possession:' cp. Nep. Thrasyb. 4, *parva munera diutina, locupletia non propria esse consuerunt.* Hor. Sat. II. 2, 134, *erit nulli proprius.* ib. 6, 5 *nil amplius oro, Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis,* and often.

sicuti facitis, 'as you really do.' Cic. is sure of the feeling of the people.

§ 49. **Quare,** etc. A recapitulation of the whole demonstration of his case. The first two parts of it are simply mentioned; the third, as being the most important, is also subdivided.

[**accuratissime,** 'with the greatest care:' *accuratus* does not quite correspond to our 'accurate:' e.g. a speech which is carefully composed to mislead the hearers and pervert the facts may be an *oratio accurata.*]

dubitatis, 'have you still any scruple about,' etc.: for *quin* cp. § 68, and Madvig § 375 c. obs. 2: [in this sense *dubitare* more commonly has the infinitive].

hoc tantum boni, 'this great advantage,' viz. that you can choose a commander, *qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videtur.*

c. XVII. § 50. **erat deligendus,** Madvig, § 348.

nunc, 'but as it is:' cp. § 27, pro Rosc. §§ 115, 148.

opportunitas, 'fortunate circumstance:' Introd. § 40.

qui habent. Lucullus, Glabrio, and Marcius Rex.

cetera, i.e. *quae commissa sunt:* others, not so correctly, supply *bella.* **summa** agrees with *salute.*

§ 51. **At enim.** Here begins the *refutatio* of the opponents of the law, which is divided into two parts: in the first (§§ 52—67) the orator refutes by arguments the objections of Catulus and Hortensius, in the second (§ 68) he counterbalances their authority by that of other eminent men. [*at enim* = 'but you will say,' used in quoting some objection.]

beneficiis amplissimis. Q. Lutatius Catulus [*princeps senatus*], the son of the conqueror of the Cimbri, was consul in B. C. 78. Introd. § 26. [*beneficia populi* is a common expression for the higher magistracies and commands, conferred by the popular vote, §§ 68, 69, 71.]

honoris as a consular, (consul B. C. 69), **fortunae** as a man of great wealth, **virtutis** on the ground of his merits as a man and a statesman, though Hortensius was not free from the reproach of having enriched himself by illegal means, **ingenii** because of his great oratorical ability.

ratione, 'view, opinion,' [a meaning derived directly from the usual force of *reri*, 'think,' hence *ratio*, 'way of thinking'].

auctoritatem, 'weighty judgment:' **multis locis**, not local, but temporal, 'on many occasions.'

cognoscetis, § 68.

ipsa re ac ratione, 'by the state of the case in and by itself,' an accumulation like that in pro Rosc. § 8 *per sententias iusque iurandum.*

[**isti**, the opponents of the law, as in § 21.]

vera concedunt, Introd. § 39.

§ 52. **oratio**, 'language:' see on § 3. **re refutata**, Introd. § 41.

Q. Hortensi. Plutarch Pomp. 25 and Dio XXXVI. 7 and 18 do not mention Hortensius among those who spoke against the law, but only Q. Catulus, and the tribunes of the commons L. Trebellius and L. Roscius.

fortem, because of the energy with which he fought for his law, against the violent opposition of the optimates.

[**promulgasset.** Notice of a law had to be given on three

market-days (*nundinae*) before the day of voting. Ramsay, Rom. Ant. p. 106.]

§ 53. **vera causa,** the true, i.e. the good cause, which in the contest of parties everyone claims for himself. [So Cicero habitually calls those who agree with him, esp. during and after his consulship, the conservative or oligarchical party, *boni*. See note on Cic. Cat. I. 1.]

[**orbis terrae** does not differ practically from *orbis terrarum*, but the latter expression is the more usual: see note on Cat. I. 3.]

legati, see note to § 32.

commeatu, 'intercourse:' for the fact cp. Dio XXXVI. 6: 'for while no other imports came in to them, the supply of corn was entirely cut off.'

clausa maria. 'In consequence of this there would be a famine among the people, in Cicero's eyes a striking argument in favour of the Manilian law: and so Cicero dwells at considerable length (cc. XVII.—XIX.) upon the war with the pirates, as though he thereby deprived the objections of the opposite party of all their force; whereas they found in the new victories of Pompeius a new reason to limit his powers, and did not wish to buy the freedom of the sea and the security of the provinces in Asia, at the cost of the liberty of Rome.' Drumann.

c. XVIII. § 54. **satis late.** Dionys. Antiq. Rom. I. 3, 'the Athenians for 68 years ruled merely the sea-coast, and not all of that, but only that between the Euxine and the Pamphylian sea at the time when they were strongest at sea.'

mare tenuisse, like κατέχειν τὴν θάλασσαν (=θαλασσοκρατεῖν) in Plut. Them. 4.

Rhodiorum, who in the time of the Macedonian and Roman empires held the first rank among maritime states. [Cp. Strabo, XIV. 2, 5, who says (writing about sixty years after this time) 'their good government and administration was admirable, not only in the rest of their political life, but especially in maritime affairs, in consequence of which the state was for a long while queen of the sea (ἐθαλαττοκράτησε).']

quae [civitas] etc. In all previous editions the reading is *quae civitas umquam antea tam tenuis, quae tam parva insula fuit*. But as the *quae* before *tam parva* is wanting in the MSS., it seems more probable that *civitas* is erroneously inserted from the first clause of the section. We have thus a much more forcible antithesis: to say nothing of maritime states like Athens, Carthage, or Rhodes, even the weakest and

smallest island has always succeeded in protecting itself adequately.

umquam antea, though before we had *antea umquam*. The reason for the change of order is that Cicero did not wish to bring together *antea umquam tam*. [Eberhard reads *inquam*, on the ground that otherwise *sed quae civitas* would have been needed; for *sed* resuming after a parenthesis cp. Madvig, § 480.]

[**continuos**, 'in succession,' without interruption.]

permanserit, 'though her name has remained.

magna ac multo maxima. *ac*='and in fact,' cp. Orator, § 52, *rem difficilem atque omnium difficillimam.*

utilitatis, by the loss of the supplies of corn and the contributions of the provinces: **imperii**, because Rome could no longer protect her subjects in Asia, and magistrates who were on their way to their provinces fell into the hands of the pirates.

[**caruit**, 'lost,' had to go without: so *domo, patria etc. c arere.*]

§ 55. **Antiochum**, cp. Mommsen Rom. H. II. 266, 268: [the fleet of Antiochus in the latter engagement was commanded by Hannibal].

Persemque. This instance is not very happily chosen: for in the earlier engagements with Perses the Roman fleet effected nothing; and at Samothrace Perses surrendered without a blow to the admiral Cn. Octavius: hence Livy XLV. 42 says, *Cn. Octavius Kal. Dec. de rege Perseo navalem triumphum egit: is triumphus sine captivis fuit, sine spoliis.* [Mommsen, II. 299, 301.]

salvos praestare, 'to guarantee the security of our allies.' See note on § 47.

Delos, quo...commeabant. Strabo, x. 5, 4, 'the destruction of Corinth by the Romans contributed still more to the growth of Delos, which had already become famous: for the merchants migrated thither, attracted by the immunity offered by the temple and the convenience of the harbour: for it is well situated for those who are sailing from Italy and Greece to Asia.' For the fate of the island in the Mithridatic war cp. Introd. note 20. [See also Mommsen, II. 308, 309.]

carebamus, 'were obliged to avoid:' cp. above, and in Verr. IV. 41 *Diodorus interea praetore isto prope triennium provincia domoque caruit.*

exuviis. The orators' platform in the forum was adorned with the beaks of the galleys taken from the people of Antium. Cp. Mommsen I. 368. [Liv. VIII. 14, 2.]

c. XIX. § 56. **bono animo.** Not as usually 'with good courage,' but 'with good feelings or intentions.'

in salute, 'in a case affecting the welfare' etc. Cp. § 69, *in eodem homine praeficiendo.*

§ 57. **Quo,** see note on § 13.

[**anne,** not common in good prose for *an.*]

ne legaretur. The senate had the power of nominating the *legati*, but it was accustomed in so doing to take into consideration the wishes of the commanders and governors. Cp. Marquardt Röm. Staatsv. I. 386. Pompeius had received the privilege of nominating his own *legati* for the war against the pirates; but he was prevented from appointing Gabinius, not merely by a regard to the circumstances generally, but also by the *lex Licinia et Aebutia*, which ordained that if any one brought forward a proposal with regard to any *potestas* or *curatio*, neither he himself, nor his colleagues, nor his relations could be entrusted with it: and this naturally included also the right of holding any subordinate office in connexion with it. Now the nomination, which Pompeius himself had for these reasons failed to make, lapsed after a certain time to the senate, and they naturally did not turn a favourable ear to the improper suggestion. For when it was made, Pompeius had not yet been commissioned to take charge of the war against Mithridates: hence he asked for Gabinius as a lieutenant in the *imperium* which he owed to the law introduced by him.

periculo, because the *lator legis* was responsible for the results of his law: cp. Cic. de Leg. III. 23, *nimia potestas est tribunorum pl. Quis negat? Sed vis populi multo saevior multoque vehementior, quae ducem cum habet, interdum lenior est, quam si nullam haberet. Dux enim suo se periculo progredi cogitat, populi impetus periculi rationem sui non habet.* Dio XXXVI. 7 tells us that Gabinius was actually exposed to personal danger in bringing forward his proposal: 'the senate preferred to endure anything at the hands of the pirates, rather than to put such power into his hands, and they very nearly killed Gabinius in the senate-house itself.' Cp. Mommsen IV. 107.

§ 58. **An** goes with **sunt tam diligentes**: the antithesis (*C. Falcidius—potuerunt*) which serves as a foil to bring out the thought, and which we should bring in as a subordinate clause by 'while,' is coordinated as a main clause; just as in Greek such antitheses are regularly introduced by μέν and δέ. Cp. Nägelsb. Stil. §§ 160, 161. The connexion of the thought with what has preceded is as follows: 'or is it the

case that while men do not deny that Gabinius has a claim to some share in the glory, yet from too great conscientiousness they are unwilling to give him such a post immediately after his tribunate.'

[**honoris causa nomino.** 'I mention with all respect,' a phrase used in mentioning living men of high rank, as if to avoid all suspicion of an unwarrantable dragging of their names into a business with which they had nothing to do. Nothing is known of these men, except that the use of this phrase shows that they were living at the time.]

anno proximo. From this it might be concluded that it was as a rule illegal or at any rate unusual to accept a post as *legatus* immediately after the tribunate: but it may be doubted whether the tribunes mentioned were *legati* to generals who owed their appointment to them; if not, the appeal to their precedents is quite worthless. However the case may have been, it is certain that before long no attention was paid to the provisions of the *lex Licinia et Aebutia*, for Caesar after his consulship received Gaul as his province by the *lex Vatinia*, and Vatinius became one of his lieutenants.

diligentes, 'precise, of painful conscientiousness,' a phrase by which Cic. himself admits the impropriety of the demand.

in hoc imperatore, rhetorically assimilated to *in hoc bello,* though *in* suits *exercitu* very well, but not *imperatore,* with which *sub* or *cum* would have been more natural.

praecipuo iure esse, 'to enjoy special privileges,' 'to take a place of preeminence:' others supply *legatus* to *esse.*

deberet, sc. *si in exercitu esset.*

ego me profiteor relaturum, a right which he had as praetor. But this was so far limited that any magistrate who held the same office or a higher one had the right of vetoing the introduction of the question: the consuls could also get rid of a question of which they did not approve by issuing a decree (*inimicum edictum*) that no one should bring forward any business which did not appear on the order of the day. Such an edict, says Cicero, will not frighten him, though the veto of a tribune would, if any tribune should venture to oppose openly the wishes of the people. Cicero might have uttered the threat (which, as has been well observed, was probably only intended as a slight deception of the hearers) all the more readily, that with the passing of the Manilian law the command in the war against the pirates was cancelled, and so the main reason against the lieutenancy of Gabinius had disappeared.

vestrum ius beneficiumque. The right and favour, which

they had conferred upon Pompeius, of choosing his own lieutenants.

socius adscribitur, 'is associated or accounted as partner,' i. e. to him belongs the next share of the honour, even though he has not taken part in the war himself. Cp. ad Att. xiv. 17 A, [a letter addressed by Cicero to Dolabella] *non possum non confiteri cumulari me maximo gaudio, quod vulgo hominum opinio socium me adscribat tuis laudibus.* [Cicero speaks in a very different tone of Gabinius afterwards, when he had associated himself with P. Clodius: cp. the speech 'cum senat. grat. egit' § 11, *quo in magistratu nisi rogationem de piratico bello tulisset, profecto egestate et improbitate coactus piraticam ipse fecisset.* Eberhard reads 'socius *iure* adscribitur'.]

c. xx. § 59. **quaereret,** when in a contio he spoke against the Gabinian law.

si quid eo factum esset, equivalent to the phrase used by Sallust (Hist. frag. v. 20), *si in Pompeio quid humani evenisset,* the Greek εἴ τι πάθοι. For the repetition of *si* [where we should use 'and' in the second place] cp. Nägelsb. Stil. § 149, 2. Cicero cleverly places in the foreground the weak subsidiary reason of Catulus, to which he certainly did not attach much value himself, because this had been refuted by the people in a manner which did him so much honour.

cum, 'in that;' i. e. by your all saying. Cp. pro Rosc. § 54, *cum taces,* and Madvig § 358, obs. 2.

talis vir, cp. pro Sest. 101, *qualis nuper Q. Catulus fuit, quem neque periculi tempestas neque honoris aura potuit umquam de suo cursu aut spe aut motu demovere.* Dio xxxvi. 13 'all reverenced him and honoured him as a man who always said and did what was for their good.' [Plut. Pomp. 16, 'he was in the highest repute of all the Romans of his time for virtue and uprightness, but seemed to be more at home in political leadership than in military command.']

[**consilio.** Cp. de Off. i. 76, where Cicero mentions him along with Pompeius, adding *parvi enim sunt foris arma, nisi est consilium domi.*]

summi viri vita atque virtute. Notice the alliteration.

§ 60. [**exempla atque instituta,** 'the traditional practice.']

non dicam, an example of *praeteritio,* finely carried out. Cp. Introd. § 42.

ad novos casus, etc. 'that they always adapted the calculations of new measures to the new circumstances of the time.'

[**Hispaniense**, i.e. against Numantia: elsewhere (§§ 10, 28) the war against Sertorius.]

ab uno imperatore, i.e. Scipio Aemilianus. In the second half of the second century B.C. there was a law in existence which forbade '*ne quis consul bis fieret*,' and this was probably in force even in the time of Marius: cp. Livii per. 56 and Mommsen's Röm. Staatsrecht² I. 502; [but in spite of this, Scipio was elected consul in 147 (when only standing for the aedileship), and again in 134: cp. Mommsen III. 16, 35].

uno Mario, Introd. note 112. [**nuper**, just forty years before.]

[**Teutŏni** is the form always used in classical prose: *Teutŏnes* occurs first in Velleius Paterculus.]

summa Q. Catuli voluntate. It is by no means certain that Catulus himself approved of these unprecedented powers; but they were sanctioned by the optimates, among whom he was always a leading man.

c. XXI. § 61. **Quid tam novum**, sc. *fuit*. **conficere**, 'raise.'

ductu suo, [i. q. *suis imperiis* § 28]: cp. Pomp. epist. ad Sen. (Sall. Hist. fr. III. 1), *si adversus vos patriamque et deos penates tot labores et pericula suscepissem, quotiens a prima adulescentia ductu meo scelestissimi hostes fusi et vobis salus quaesita est, nihil amplius in absentem me statuissetis quam adhuc agitis.* **a senatorio gradu.** From the time of Sulla the quaestorship entitled a man to admission into the senate, and at this time the office could not be held before the completion of the thirtieth year of one's age: [but Pompeius in B.C. 82 when he was sent to Sicily was only 24]. For *senatorius gradus*, 'the rank of senator,' cp. Nägelsb. Stil. § 20, 2.

gravitate. The firm action of Pompeius against Cn. Carbo was called by his enemies *crudelitas*: see esp. Val. Max. VI. 2, 8; Introd. § 24 with note 68. [But Cic. is probably thinking here rather of the grave and dignified bearing, for which Pompeius was remarkable, even when still very young. Cp. Plut. Pomp. 10.]

deportavit, [the regular word for bringing an army home by sea]; used because Pompeius against the previous wishes of Sulla returned from Africa at the head of his legions. Introd. § 25.

equitem Romanum. Introd. notes 72, 73.

vidit, 'has lived to see:' **omnium studio**, 'with universal enthusiasm,' as Cic. Cat. Mai. § 61 *omnium fama*, 'general repute.' [**visere**, 'to flock to see it.'] **concelebrandam**, by loud acclamations, [holiday attire, and garlands].

§ 62. **duo consules.** Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus, and D. Junius Brutus, B.C. 77, [who had, however, declined to take the command against Sertorius: cp. Mommsen IV. 26].

ut, [wanting in the MSS. but supplied by Fleckeisen. Eberhard inserts it after *quam*]: for the position of *ut* cp. pro Flacc. § 65, *quid in sermone Graeco tam tritum atque celebratum est quam, si quis despicatui ducitur, ut Mysorum ultimus esse dicatur?*

eques Romanus, Introd. note 77: *pro consule = cum imperio proconsulari* 'as proconsul.' [The form *proconsul* is later than *pro consule*, and rarely used in good authors: Sallust has *proconsulem.*]

L. Marcius Philippus, consul in B.C. 91, censor 86, a zealous partisan of Sulla, and hence a great supporter of Pompeius, known as an orator for his readiness in debate and his biting wit: cp. Brut. 173, *in altercando cum aliquo aculeo facetus*, de Orat. I. 24, III. 4.

pro consulibus. This bitter scoff at the consuls of the time (who are called however *clarissimi fortissimique*) Cic. cleverly presses into his service to set off his praise of Pompeius. As is shown by what follows, the expression of this individual senator is at once made use of, as if it were an admitted fact.

constituebatur, 'was settled on him,' 'was built on him,' stronger than the more usual expression *ponebatur.*

[**singulare,** 'unprecedented.']

ex senatus consulto, is added on purpose, because, as legislation was a matter for the popular assembly, strictly a dispensation from the positive obligations of the laws could only proceed from the people. Asconius in Cornel. p. 57, *promulgavitque* (Cornelius in B.C. 65) *legem, qua auctoritatem senatus minuebat, ne qui nisi per populum legibus solveretur. Quod antiquo quoque iure erat cantum: itaque in omnibus senatus consultis quibus aliquem legibus solvi placebat, adici erat solitum, ut de ea re ad populum ferretur; sed paulatim ferri erat desitum, resque iam in eam consuetudinem venerat, ut postremo ne adiceretur quidem in senatus consultis de rogatione ad populum ferenda.*

legibus solutus, Introd. note 83, [cp. Mommsen IV. 92 ff.].

ullum alium. According to Mommsen (Röm. Staatsr.[2] I. 549 f.), these words are to be understood literally: for as the earliest age at which the consulship was attainable was 43, for the quaestorship (in consequence of the intervals between the various magistracies) 37 was the legal age, though in practice men were generally allowed to hold the quaestorship

after completing their thirtieth year. Others explain the words *ullum alium* as a rhetorical hyperbola, supposing the curule offices only to be intended. When Pompeius entered on his consulship in B.C. 70 he was 35¾ years of age. [Cicero entered on his quaestorship two days before he was 31 years of age. According to the usual view two clear years were required to elapse between the various curule magistracies, so that if 43 was the regular year for the consulship, 37 would be that for the aedileship. Cp. Ramsay, Rom. Antiq. pp. 173—5.]

quam ut = *quam quod factum est ut.* **eques Romanus**, Introd. § 29 with note 84.

in omnibus hominibus, 'in the case of all men.' *hominibus ... hominum ... homine*, an instance of the figure called *traductio;* 'cum continenter unum verbum non eadem sententia ponitur.' Cp. ad Herenn. IV. c. 14.

in hoc uno. The very reason why an *imperium* with extraordinary powers ought not to be again conferred upon him; hence the opposition to the Gabinian law, which Cicero does not quote as a *novum*, in order to be able to bring in the clever hit at the optimates in c. XXII.

§ 63. **haec tot**, strictly speaking only the last three, *ex senatus auctoritate:* he passes over the command against Lepidus, Introd. § 26. The first triumph *ex Africa* Pompeius only formally received from the senate, really from Sulla, whose impotent tool the senate was: Plut. Pomp. 13.

c. XXII. **illorum auctoritatem.** From the time of the Sullan reaction to the restoration of the tribunician power in B.C. 70 (Introd. § 29), the rule had been wholly in the hands of the senate, and the sanction of the popular assembly had been rarely sought for its ordinances. From the senate proceeded a series of extraordinary measures, which overstepped the existing laws, such as the mission of Pompeius to Spain, the bestowal of the imperium on M. Antonius (Introd. § 30 with note 87), etc. Cicero now skilfully avails himself of this fact to claim for the people also the right of similar concessions.

suo iure, 'with the right which belongs to it,' which it can claim because of its fortunate decision in the case of the war with the pirates. [So *meo iure* 'with full right' etc.]

§ 64. **parum consuluistis.** Cicero says this because he always sees expediency only in fortunate external results. Introd. § 37.

studia, 'inclinations, sympathies.'

plus in re p. vidistis, 'you had a deeper political insight,' as Phil. II. 39, *cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora.*

sibi, etc. For the double dative cp. Madvig, § 421 obs. 1. [A legitimate construction, when there is no ambiguity. Cp. de Orat. I. 105, *gerendus est tibi mos adulescentibus.*]

Atque in hoc bello, etc. For this *egressio* see Introd. § 43.

magnae et multae. An unusual order of words (§ 23), cp. ad Herenn. II. § 37, *magnis et multis incommodis.*

in Asia, a province which in Cic. ep. ad Q. fr. I. 1, 19 is called *corruptrix*, in Tac. Agric. 6 *dives ac parata peccantibus.*

interiorum, 'in the interior of the country,' properly, 'in inner Asia.' **nostrum imperatorem**, see note on § 26.

nihil aliud = *de nulla alia re.* See in Cat. I. § 17, pro Sulla § 65, *nihil postea nisi de rei publicae commodis cogitarit.*

§ 65. **libidines**, 'arbitrary conduct.'

quibus...inferatur. 'Against which some excuse for war (pretext for war) can be brought (i.e. discovered or invented).' Cp. Verr. v. § 111, *in quem ne falsi quidem causa conferri criminis potuit.* Phaedrus I. 1, 4, *tunc fauce improba latro incitatus iurgii causam intulit.*

§ 66. **coram**, 'with them in private,' when I would give them names and facts. [**disputo**, 'discuss,' with no notion of disputing.]

hostium simulatione, 'under the pretence of acting against the enemy.' So pro Sulla, § 54, *Fausti simulatione.*

non modo = *non dicam.* Madvig, § 461 obs. 2.

animos ac spiritus, 'arrogance and insolence:' **capere** 'contain,' 'find room for,' i.e. here, which is wealthy enough to satisfy their arrogant demands. [Cp. pro Mil. § 87, *capere eius amentiam civitas, Italia, provinciae, regna non poterant*].

c. XXIII. [**collatis signis**, i.e. in a pitched battle, cp. Liv. XXXVIII. 41, 6 *proelio iusto, acie aperta, signis collatis dimicandum erat.*]

qui se a pecuniis. Some have wished to strike out *se*, because of the accusatives, *manus*, *oculos*, *animum* below, but it is quite legitimate, when, as here, the orator explains in the last clause by a development of the thought, which at the same time serves as a kind of climax, the sense in which he desires *se* to be taken. This resumption of *se* would hardly have been allowable, if Cicero had only used *qui* once, and had not employed the figure of *anaphora*.

§ 67. [**Ecquam.** Distinguish carefully from *Quam ?*]

pacatam fuisse ['has been held to be tranquillised']. For the *commutatio* here see note on § 31.

pecunia publica, i. e. the money assigned to them from the public treasury for the maintenance of their fleets and armies [=*pecunia ex aerario deprompta ad bellum administrandum*, § 37].

praeter paucos, referring perhaps especially to P. Servilius, who was present at the time (§ 68), and whose integrity and uprightness Cicero elsewhere praises. The censure is directed especially at M. Antonius Creticus, who had misused his extensive *imperium* against the pirates to plunder the provinces, and had lost his fleet disgracefully in a battle with the Cretans. (Introd. § 30). [Cicero is probably thinking also of Verres: cp. in Verr. v. § 63, *cum propter istius hanc avaritiam nomine classis esset in Sicilia, re quidem vera naves inanes, etc.*, and elsewhere in the same speech.]

adsequi, 'gain,' i.e. they succeeded in nothing, except in bringing disgrace upon us. Cp. pro Rosc. § 95, *qua tu re nihil aliud adsequeris, nisi ut ab omnibus mortalibus audacia tua cognoscatur et impudentia.*

classium nomine, 'with fleets that existed but in name,' i.e. they pretended to be commanders of fleets, but through their avarice they were in such a condition that they could do absolutely nothing against the enemy.

maiore, i. e. than if no fleets had been sent out.

iacturis, 'sacrifices,' i.e. of money to men of influence = *largitionibus*, see note on § 37; **condicionibus**, 'bargains, agreements,' especially with creditors, with whom they made all manner of terms, trusting to the pillaging of the provinces.

[**quasi vero**, 'just as though,' very common in Cicero for introducing an ironical supposition. Both pres. and past impf. subj. are used after it, without any marked difference of meaning. Madvig, § 349.]

suis virtutibus. As Tacitus says of Agricola, § 41: *sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.* [**etiam** is frequently added to *tum* answering to a preceding *cum* = 'both...and also.']

§ 68. **dubitare quin.** See note on § 49.

inter tot annos unus. 'The only one in the course of so many years:' cp. pro Quinctio, § 46, *qui inter tot annos ne appellavit quidem Quinctium.* Liv. I. 10, 7, *bina postea inter*

tot annos...opima parta sunt spolia. [*inter* = 'in the course of;' *intra*, 'before the end of.']

Quodsi. See note on § 51, ad init.

omnium = *omnium generis.*

P. Servilius Vatia, surnamed Isauricus, Introd. § 30; Mommsen IV. 44.

cum deliberetis, 'as you are debating the question of war.' *cum deliberatis* would have meant in Cicero 'whenever you are debating.'

C. (Scribonius) **Curio**, consul 76, as proconsul of Macedonia (75—73), won a triumph over the Thracians and Dardanians, on which occasion he was the first Roman general who pushed on as far as the Danube. Mommsen IV. 38. Cicero brings into prominence his *ingenium* because he had gained some reputation as an orator. [Cp. Brut. 210.]

praeditus goes strictly only with *ingenio* and *prudentia.* We must understand some such word as *ornatus* to go with the other ablatives.

Cn. Cornelius **Lentulus** Clodianus, consul 72, censor 70, one of the *legati* of Pompeius in the war with the pirates; he had, however, already returned to Rome, as we see from this passage. [**summam gravitatem** refers especially to the vigour of his action in his censorship, when he struck 64 senators—at least one-eighth of the whole number—off the senatorial roll. He was evidently a mere creature of Pompeius. Mommsen IV. 96.]

C. Cassius Longinus Varus, consul 73, who had been defeated by Spartacus in 72. [Mommsen IV. 80.]

[**quare videte**: bracketed by Eberhard, as giving a false sense; certainly *vide ut* is generally used with the force of 'take care how' (Zumpt § 534), and the words might easily have been introduced by a copyist, possibly following the gloss of a reader, who did not understand the construction of *ut*, which sums up what has preceded. If the words are retained, we must (as in the text) accept the correction of Madvig *horumne* for *ut horum:* see critical notes.]

c. XXIV. § 69. **sententiam**, the open expression of the *voluntas* (feeling).

auctore populo Romano ['with the support of the Roman people']: the will of the people was assumed to be shown by their large attendance and their general behaviour at the *contio.*

[**vim aut minas.** 'When the tribune Gabinius, after the introduction of his proposals, appeared in the senate-house, the fathers of the city were almost on the point of strangling him

with their own hands, without considering in their zeal how extremely disadvantageous to them this method of arguing must have ultimately proved.' Mommsen IV 107. Manilius was actually prosecuted at the close of his year of office (Plutarch Cic. c. 9 says for peculation), and though defended by Cicero, was condemned.]

[**quantam iterum...videmus** is bracketed by Eberhard as a gloss on *tantam*, on account of the clumsy repetition in *videamus*, *videmus.*]

in eodem homine. See note on § 56.

de re, i.e. what we ought to do.

atque hac potestate. The second, strictly explanatory, clause gives greater fulness to the expression, cp. ad Q. fr. I. 1, 25, *patere aures tuas querellis omnium, nullius inopiam ac solitudinem non modo illo populari accessu ac tribunali, sed ne domo quidem et cubiculo esse exclusam tuo:* pro Quinct. 12, *tollitur ab atriis Liciniis atque a praeconum consessu in Galliam Naevius.*

polliceor ac defero, 'promise and place at their disposal.'

§ 70. **qui praesident**, i.e. whose temples were in the forum, and towered over it from the Capitol.

loco temploque ['consecrated spot,' without any notion of a building. Cp. Ramsay, Rom. Ant. p. 335, and note on in Cat. III. 2.] here = *rostris:* cp. in Vatin. 24, *in rostris, in illo, inquam, augurato templo ac loco.* Liv. VIII. 14, 12, *rostris earum* (sc. *navium Antiatium*) *suggestum in foro exstructum adornare placuit, rostraque id templum appellatum.* Liv. III. 20, 6 [*et augures iussos adesse ad Regillum lacum, fama exierat, locumque inaugurari, ubi auspicato cum populo agi posset*] shows that a *locus inauguratus* was necessary for any transactions with the people.

ad rem p. adeunt, for the more common *accedunt*, appears to occur only here.

rogatu cuiusquam. Introd. § 36.

neque quo—neque quo, 'neither as if...nor that thereby.' *Neque quo* is generally followed by an adversative sentence, introduced by *sed;* but here the opposition ['but only for the good of the state'] does not appear before § 71, and then it takes a different form. For the facts of the case cp. Introd. note 103.

periculis repellendis, **honoribus** adipiscendis, dative of purpose, as in de Nat. Deor. II. 161, *remedio morbis et vulneribus.*

ut (so far as) **hominem praestare oportet**, for such things lie in the hands of the gods, see note on § 47.

honorem, in the abstract sense, 'post of honour, distinction, honourable recognition.' But doubtless Cicero is thinking of the consulship, though we must not understand him to be referring to this *honos* alone; **ex hoc loco**, by services which he was to render as a political orator.

[**eadem illa nostra**, etc., i. e. by his activity as an advocate. Cp. Brut. 321, *propter assiduitatem in causis et industriam.*]

§ 71. **mihi susceptum est.** This dative is often found with the participle *susceptus*, which approximates to the meaning of an adjective (e.g. pro Sest. 72, pro Sulla 28, Phil. v. 32) and with similar participles like *auditus*, *cognitus*, *perspectus*, *provisus*, etc. Cp. Madvig, § 250, a.

rei p. causa. Introd. § 37.

[**tantum abest ut...ut**, 'so far from seeming...I know,' not very common in classical writers.]

vobis non inutiles, as *pro re p. susceptas*. But Cic. might have advocated the cause of the people, without damaging himself too much with the party of the optimates by his attacks upon individuals, which afterwards bore bitter fruit for him. [Cp. Mommsen iv. 110.]

[**rationibus**, 'interests.']

ANALYSIS.

§ 1. This is the first occasion, Romans, on which I have addressed you from the rostra. § 2. Hitherto I have served you in the law-courts, and my triumphant election as praetor showed that you approved this course. § 3. The merits of Pompeius make my present task an easy one.

§§ 4, 5. A dangerous war is being waged in Asia, and all call for Pompeius to conduct it. § 6. I must first point out to you the character of the war, and the vastness of the interests at stake. § 7. The stain of your former war with Mithridates has not yet been wiped away. § 8. Sulla and Murena were prevented from carrying the war to a conclusion. § 9. Mithridates made great preparations for a new war, to be carried on in alliance with Sertorius in Spain. § 10. Pompeius crushed the latter: Lucullus contended with the former at first with brilliant success, though afterwards he was more unfortunate. § 11. Your ancestors made war for much less grievous wrongs than those which you have now suffered. § 12. The safety of your allies is at stake. § 13. They all call upon you to send them Pompeius. § 14. The wealth of Asia makes it of the greatest value to you. § 15. Panic has the most fatal effect upon the revenues. § 16. The tax-payers and the tax-farmers alike must be protected from the fear of disaster. § 17. The tax-farmers supply the sinews of war. § 18. Besides, many other citizens have interests there which must be protected. § 19. The state of credit at Rome is closely connected with the finances of Asia, as we have learnt by experience. § 20. The war is not one to be despised, § 21, although Lucullus has gained many brilliant victories. § 22. Mithridates himself escaped from his hands, § 23, and has secured the help of Tigranes, and many powerful tribes. § 24. Our soldiers were eager to return, and the misfortunes of Mithridates excited much sympathy for him. § 25. Suffer me to pass over the story of our defeat. § 26. Lucullus has been re-called; you see the importance of the war.

§ 27. You have no general to compare with Pompeius. § 28. His skill and experience in war are unrivalled. § 29. His military merits cannot be exaggerated. § 30. Italy, Sicily, Africa, Gaul, Spain and Italy again bear witness to them. § 31. The whole world has learnt to know their value. § 32. The ravages of the pirates devastated every part of it, abroad and at home. § 33. Even the Italian towns and har-

bours were not safe. § 34. Pompeius showed the greatest energy in protecting Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia. § 35. He completed the whole of his task within six months.

§ 36. Remember, too, his integrity, self-control, good faith, courtesy, and kindliness. § 37. Other generals—you know who—have shown themselves corrupt. § 38. The armies of such men are more dreaded by allies than by enemies. § 39. Pompeius allows no excesses in his army. § 40. He shows self-control in every other respect. § 41. Hence men now believe once more in the old Roman character. § 42. His courtesy, his wisdom and eloquence, his fidelity to his word, and his kindliness, unite to make him most fit to finish this war.

§ 43. The weight of his name is also of the greatest importance. § 44. All the world knows the honour in which he is held at Rome. § 45. The mere knowledge that he was near checked Mithridates and Tigranes after their victory. § 46. The conduct of our enemies, too, shows how highly he is esteemed by them. § 47. His good fortune again is not less remarkable. § 48. It has been greater than anyone has ever ventured to desire for himself. § 49. For these reasons, you cannot hesitate as to your duty. § 50. Besides, he is in the neighbourhood.

§ 51. But Catulus and Hortensius, men of the greatest influence, oppose this proposal. § 52. Hortensius argues that all power is not to be put into the hands of one man. But such language is out of date. § 53. If he had been listened to when he said the same thing against the Gabinian law, the glory and empire of Rome would have been lost. § 54. For some years before this law, Rome was weaker in self-defence than the weakest of states. § 55. We could not protect even the roads of Italy. § 56. The Roman people did not follow your advice then, Hortensius, and Pompeius has now restored to us our empire by land and sea. § 57. Hence it is a shame that Gabinius has not been allowed to be one of his lieutenants. § 58. Others have been in the year after their tribuneship; and I promise to bring the matter before the Senate. § 59. Catulus argued that you had no one to take the place of Pompeius if anything happened to him; but you replied that you had Catulus himself. § 60. He urges that it is against all precedent, but he has himself approved of many new precedents in the case of Pompeius. §§ 61, 62. What indeed has been so unprecedented as the whole history of Pompeius? § 63. Besides, you have already given your judgment against these men in choosing Pompeius to command against the pirates. § 64. Results have proved that you are right in this. Further, other virtues than those of a soldier are required in the East. § 65. The avarice of our commanders there has made us detested. § 66. Therefore no one must be sent to Asia but

a man of self-control. § 67. It is because Pompeius is such a man that he is so much desired by our allies. § 68. Servilius, Curio, Lentulus, and Cassius, all men of high character, support this law.

§ 69. Therefore, Manilius, I heartily approve your proposal, and urge you not to be deterred from bringing it forward; I promise to support you to the utmost of my power. § 70. I have no personal end to serve. § 71. I may incur enmity, but my duty calls upon me to neglect my own interests in comparison with yours.

CRITICAL APPENDIX (1894).

The MSS. on which Halm mainly relied to determine the text of this oration were

1. *P*, a leaf of a palimpsest at Turin, containing § 40 *tollenda*—§ 43 *de quo homine.*

2. *E*, *Erfurtensis*, a MS. of the XIIth century, now at Berlin.

3. *T*, *Tegernseensis*, a MS. of the XIth century, now at Munich. This now begins at § 46: its readings for the earlier portion are derived from a copy at Hildesheim. *P* is of course a mere fragment: Halm attached much importance to *T*. But more recent researches have shown that two other MSS. belong to the same family as *P*, and are on the whole our best authorities. These are

4. *C*, *Coloniensis*, once in the Cathedral Library at Cologne, but now one of the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, whence it is called *H* by Mr A. C. Clark, who has described it very fully in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Classical Series, Part VII.

5. *W*, *Werdensis*, now lost, but collated by Gulielmius.

Another important MS. is

6. *V*, *Vaticanus*, one of the Palatine MSS. (1525) in the Vatican Library at Rome, which belongs to the same class as *E*, but is less accurate.

The best opinion seems to be that *PCW* represent the most trustworthy family, that *EV* go together, and are less good; and that *T* is only the best representative of the inferior class, to which the numerous later MSS. belong. These are mostly of Italian origin, and contain many conjectural emendations by Italian scholars, while those of German origin have been transcribed with less intelligence but more fidelity.

It follows therefore that when *C* (*H*) agrees with *EV*, the evidence of *T* is not of much weight. If this view is correct Halm's text will need to be altered in the following places:—

§ 4. arbitrantur: arbitratur *HT*.
§ 7. denotavit: curavit *HEVT*.
§ 13. commoratur: commoretur *H*.
§ 14. exportantur: exportentur *HEVT*.
§ 16. tandem: tandem igitur *H*.
§ 18. erit: est *HEVT*.

§ 20. Mithridatis: Mithridati *WT*.
§ 21. studio: studio atque odio *H*.
haec esse: hoc esse *HT*.
§ 23. Tigranis: Tigrani *H*.
§ 28. atque pueritiae: atque o pueritiae *HW*.
§ 33. et: ac *HET*.
§ 46. Cretensium legati: (*a*) communi Cretensium legati *H*.
§ 52. unum dignissimum: dignissimum *HETV*.
§ 67. eos: nos *HW*.
§ 68. horumne: ut horum *HWETV*.

(There are also some instances in which the order of words should be altered.)

The following conjectures have been adopted in Halm's text without any authority from MSS.:

§ 5. L. Lucullum (*Baiter*): Lucullum.
§ 7. ex patrio (*Klotz*): et patrio.
§ 9. posset (*Fleckeisen*): potuisset.
§ 16. saltibus (*Hotman*): salinis.
§ 20. forte ea vobis (*Buttmann*, so *H*): forte a vobis.
§ 25. ad aures imperatoris (*Madvig*): ad aures Luculli imperatoris.
§ 26. M'. Glabrioni (*Krause*): Glabrioni.
§ 34. in Sardiniam (*Hotman*): inde Sardiniam.
§ 37. ventum est (*Halm*): ventum sit.
§ 40. qua ille sit (*Halm*): qualis sit.
§ 51. cognoscetis (*Madvig*): cognoscitis.
§ 62. essent ut (*Fleckeisen*): essent.
§ 68. horumne (*Madvig*): ut horum.

In the following passages Mr A. C. Clark holds with great probability that *H* either furnishes or gives a clue to the right reading:

§ 1. per aetatem: om. *H*. Probably a gloss on *antea*.
§ 3. insolita mihi: om. *mihi H*.
§ 4. regibus infertur: adfertur regibus *H*.
§ 6. a vobis...consulendum: nobis c. *H* (?).
§ 7. litterarum: om. *H*.
§ 8. egerunt: egerunt triumphum *H*. 'Probably an early conjecture in place of a lost word to fill up a lacuna.' Müller suggests *regem fregerunt* or something of that kind.
§ 13. tacite: taciti *H*, according to Cicero's usual idiom.
sicut ceterarum provinciarum: to be rejected as a gloss on *quoque*. *H* has below *ceteras in provincias*, which is obviously corrupt.
adventus: aditus *H*.

§ 14. studio: studiosius *H.*
tutandas: tuendas *H.*

§ 16. portubus: portibûs *H.* 'Portubus should now disappear from this, its last stronghold.' (Cp. Neue, i². 365: Owen on Trist. iii. 2, 11; 12, 38.)

§ 21. ornatas atque refertas: ornata ac referta *H.*
ut hoc vos: ut hac vos *H.* 'I suspect that the words *ut haec vos intelligatis* are an interpolation.' Mommsen conjectures *atque ita edita* above.

§ 22. persequendi: consequendi *H* (?).
tardavit: retardavit *H.*

§ 23. animos: per animos *H.* Cic. does not use *pervado* with a simple accusative. [L. and S. wrongly quote Sull. 19, 53: read *quas in oras.*]

§ 24. processio: progressio *H*, 'a certain reading: *processio* is here a barbarism.' (Cp. Antib.[6] ii. 352.)

§ 26. partem—partem: partim—partim *H.*

§ 29. quisquam: om. *H*, reading *adferri.*

§ 30. testis est: *H* omits the last five repetitions of *est.*

§ 31. exterae: terrae *H.*

§ 32. a Brundisio: Brundisio *H.*

§ 33. ibi: om. *H.* '*Ibi* can only mean "off Misenum," and no such battle is known of.'

§ 37. ferant: adferant *H.*

§ 39. cuiquam: quisquam *H.*

§ 42. transmittendum: permittendum *H.*

§ 44. illius diei fama: illius diei nomen ac fama illius *H*, 'which looks as if two variants *illius diei nomen* and *fama illius diei* had become fused. *Nomen* is probably right and has been glossed by *fama.*'

§ 46. Cretensium: communi Cretensium *H.* (I can hardly doubt that *a communi Cr.* is right: so Gul. and Kayser [not Müller]. 'Cic. uses the word *communi* [= τὸ κοινόν] frequently in the Verrines, and usually in the abl., e.g. *a communi Siciliae*, Verr. ii. 114, 154, 168. The Diet of the Cretans was formed at the end of the 3rd century B.C. and made treaties with Philip and others.' Cp. Marquardt Rōm. Staatsverw. i. 376 for *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Κρητῶν.* The instance of Sicily shows that these were not necessarily *instituted* to do honour to the Emperor, though this was often their origin, especially in the East. Cp. Bp. Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, ii.)

§ 50. committamus: commendamus *H.*

§ 54. tenuis, tam parva insula fuit: tenuis aut tam parvula insula fuit *H*, which is obviously wrong. 'I suspect that *aut t. p. i.* is inserted from § 55.'

§ 56. ea quae: et ea quae *H.*

§ 57. gloriae: victoriae atque *H.* Mr Clark would read *victoriae*, rejecting the rest of the sentence, as an annotation. (*H* reads *illius* for *ipsius*, which supports this view.)

§ 58. inimicum edictum: iniquitas *H*, which is much less likely to be the gloss. There seems no evidence of any *edictum.*

§ 59. ac tam difficilis: om. *H.*

§ 63. in eundem hominem: in eodem homine *H.* Cp. just below.

semper: om. *H.*

§ 64. his: istis *H.* '*his* falsum est de iis quos orator modo et paulo post iterum *istos* appellavit,' Halm.

§ 65. quam domum: quam tutam domum *H.* Mr Clark suggests *quam tutam domum*, quam *satis clausam ac munitam* urbem? placing *fuisse* (with *H*) after *fanum* (?).

§ 69. perficiendi: reficiendi *H*, 'the technical term for continuing a term of command.'

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§ 9. *postea cum* (i.e. *quom*) is decidedly to be preferred to *postea quam.* Eberhard reads (*postea*) *cum.* Müller defends *potuisset*, not *posset*, Eberhard *potuit.*

§ 15. Müller reads (after Pluygers) *pecuaria relinquitur.* Cp. pro Quint. 3. 12, 'erat ei pecuaria res ampla.'

§ 18. Müller reads *publicanis omissis vectigalia*: alii aliter.

§ 21. Eberhard reads *satis opinor concessi laudis.*

§ 24. Benecke, followed by other editors, rejects *et eorum—collegerant.* The reading of *H*, *eorum opera qui se ad eum ipsius regno concesserunt*, makes it pretty clear that it is a gloss.

§ 33. Gellius i. 7. 16 quotes and discusses *in praedonum fuisse potestatem.* The construction is perhaps defensible in popular language (cp. Schmalz, Lat. Gramm.[2] p. 452), but not in Cic.'s orations. See Roby's Gramm. ii. p. 397; Madvig, § 230, obs. 2.

§ 67. Müller, after Gertz, reads *imperatores* for *praetores.*

§ 68. Müller reads *horum—respondereve.*

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